

WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ASSYRIAN KING LIST?

BY

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Introduction

This article considers the question: who caused the writing of the Assyrian King List (“the AKL”)?¹ The standard view is that it was written by Šamši-Adad I as propaganda, to fuse in the general mind his Amorite dynasty to the native Assyrian one, thus legitimizing his rule. Thus Grayson says that it was created to “legitimatize the rule of the usurper, Šamši-Adad, by inserting his genealogy into a list of Assyrian rulers. Subsequent generations, motivated by both a sense of history and a feeling of pride in their native Assyrian monarchic heritage, added the names of successive Assyrian kings to the list.”² This view has been held since Landsberger gave it currency in “Assyrische Königsliste und ‘Dunkles Zeitalter’”.³ There is no other well-established theory of the original purpose of the AKL other than Lambert’s theory that it was to be used in a *kispum* ceremony, much like the GHD.⁴

On the available material, I argue that Šamši-Adad I was not the person responsible for the AKL. If it is possible to suggest who was, the most likely candidate is Aššur-nasir-pal I. In so far as any motive for its creation is discernible, I suggest that it was to preserve data about Assyria’s kings which was already becoming lost. Whatever the ultimate motivation for the creation of the list, it was drafted in such a way that — together with anything else it may have communicated to an Assyrian audience — it vindicated the

¹ Other abbreviations used here are “SDAS” for the Seventh Day Adventist Seminary exemplar of the AKL, and “GHD” for the Genealogy of the Hammurabi Dynasty. Abbreviations of journals are as in the CAD.

² A.K. Grayson, *Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia and Assyria: Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, Volume 1 *From the Beginning to Ashur-resha-ishi I*, Wiesbaden Otto Harrassowitz 1972, p. 1. We cannot be certain about exactly who Šamši-Adad was trying to reach. I hope to prepare a study of this question.

³ *JCS*, 8 (1954), pp. 31-45, 47-73, 106-133. It is taken as established beyond any serious doubt, see for example W. Mayer, *Politik und Kriegskunst der Assyrier*, Munster 1995, pp. 25-26.

⁴ W.G. Lambert, “Another Look at Hammurabi’s Ancestors,” *JCS*, 22 (1968), pp. 1-2.

fact that Aššur-nasir-pal's father, Šamši-Adad IV, came up from Babylon to seize the throne which he claimed. But it would be difficult to assert that this was the motive for the compilation of the list: rather, the compilation of the AKL seems to have been the occasion for the comments on Šamši-Adad I, Šamši-Adad IV, and some other monarchs who used Babylon as a base to take Aššur.

The "Assyrian King List"

The fullest exemplars of the AKL are known as the "Aššur A",⁵ "Khorsabad" and "SDAS" lists.⁶ The "Aššur A" list, published in 1927, is so fragmentary as to have been practically superseded by the others. The fragment BM 128059 is tantalizing on certain abstruse points, but of too little assistance to consider here.⁷ The Khorsabad list is fashioned to swing on some type of pivot, and has holes for pins. One could read the obverse (presumably inside a frame or case, hanging from pins), and then swing it upside down to read the reverse. It has only one set of pin holes, found at the top centre of the obverse and the bottom centre of the reverse.⁸ The design of the SDAS list is rather similar, except that the holes do not seem fashioned for pivot swinging in an identical way. Gelb suggests that it was perforated for string, metal or wood.⁹ The Aššur A list is so damaged that I cannot tell from the photographs how it was fashioned.

Thus, the text must have been a reference tool, and was probably used at a specific place. A loose analogy might be the way that inter-State telephone directories were attached to their desks at the telephone exchange. The AKL must have been in use over a period of time, as there are several updated versions created at different times. The "Aššur A" list [912 BC] has only 97 kings, ending with Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II;¹⁰ the Khorsabad list [738 BC]¹¹ is written in the time of the 108th king, Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III; and the SDAS

⁵ E Nassouhi, "Grande Liste des Rois d'Assyrie," *AfO*, 4 (1927), pp. 1-11. Apparently a fragment of it had come to light earlier, p. 1.

⁶ A. Poebel, "The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad," *JNES*, 1 (1942), pp. 247-306 and 460-492; and *JNES*, 2 (1943), pp. 56-90. I.J. Gelb, "Two Assyrian King Lists," *JNES*, 13 (1954), pp. 209-230.

⁷ A.R. Millard, "Fragments of Historical Texts from Nineveh," *Iraq*, 32 (1970), pp. 167-176, esp. pp. 174-176.

⁸ See the photographs in I.J. Gelb, *loc. cit.* (n. 6), and A. Poebel, *loc. cit.* (n. 6), p. 248.

⁹ I.J. Gelb, *loc. cit.* (n. 6), p. 210.

¹⁰ A. Poebel, *loc. cit.* (n.6), pp. 250-251.

¹¹ The dates are calculated from the texts, and are found in H. Lewy, "Assyria c.2600-1816 BC," *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 3rd ed., Volume 1 Part 2, Cambridge 1971, pp. 729-770, p. 743.

list [722 BC] closes with Šulmanu-ašarid V, thus effectively giving it two more kings than the Khorsabad list.¹² It seems that the versions we have were updated by adding details to the end of the text, rather than by any revision of earlier sections.

The Khorsabad and SDAS tablets bear the subscriptions of their copiers, each of whom was a temple scribe.¹³ Unfortunately, neither say where the original(s) might be found, or who was responsible for its upkeep. The subscriptions suggest, however, that there was some authoritative exemplar from which copies could be made. This does not necessarily mean that they were copied for the temples, and if they were, whether it was for cultic purposes. As is mentioned below, there is reason to think that this was possible. These considerations tend to justify the analogy of the telephone directory in a public place. In sum, it appears that we can safely conclude that the AKL was a reference tool, and a valued one at that.¹⁴

In its size, markings and rectangular projection for hanging, the Khorsabad tablet is identical to the house blessings in “amulet form”; and the AKL, at least in this form, may have been hung in houses for the purpose of invoking a blessing.¹⁵ Texts such as the Epic of Erra, pleas for health, apotropaic prayers against unspecified misfortune (the *namburbî*), a prayer to the triad Šamaš, Ea and Marduk (the *namburbi lumun kalama*, the apotropaion against all evil whatever), were located on amulets with a rectangular projection at the top. That projection is pierced through horizontally, and the amulet must have been intended to be hung by a thread or bracket of some kind in the projection. This particular exemplar may have had such a purpose. However, the case is not free from doubt. First, one can not easily conclude that this tablet too had an apotropaic function.

Second, it could well be that what we are seeing here is a similarity in form but not in function. First, Gelb refers to the size of the SDAS list, and to the rectangular protuberance. He then states: “... both in size and in shape, the SDAS list is almost identical with the Khorsabad list. The formal differences pertain mainly to the number of lines in each column and to the horizontal lines marking the significant units.”¹⁶ As noted, the tablets state who copied them, and give every impression of having been copied for temple purposes.¹⁷ Neither of the tablets contains invocations for good

¹² I.J. Gelb, *loc. cit.* (n. 6), p. 229.

¹³ Aššur A lacks the relevant part: see Nassouhi, *loc. cit.* (n. 5), *passim*.

¹⁴ Note, for example, the curse formulas which close the AKL.

¹⁵ E. Reiner, “Amulets,” *JNES*, 19 (1960), pp. 148–155, p. 155.

¹⁶ I.J. Gelb, *loc. cit.* (n. 6), p. 210.

¹⁷ It takes me too far from my thesis to consider what is involved in the term “temple purposes”, as they are so broad, especially in Assyria. Edmond Sollberger offered a definition

health which are found upon many of the other amulets Professor Reiner considers. Perhaps the commonality found between amulets on the one hand, and the AKL tablets on the other, is due to the fact that both types of object were hung for retention and it was desired to keep them compact in size. What could be the power of a king list to avert evil? Surely there would be a prayer or plea for intercession if that was indeed its purpose.

There are three other things to add in a general way about the AKL: first, the lists always end with a subscription of the full details of a ruler. That is, it never ends noting the accession only of a king; rulers appear to be added only after their death. Second, the list is simply a genealogy in list form (although the earlier sections are a little more complex than this suggests). Third, the list consists chiefly of names, and details which provide information about the people named. The additional material is generally the fact that a certain named person (a king) was the son of another named person, also a king, and reigned for a certain number of years.

Table of Departures from the Standard Entry

There are places where the AKL provides more than the standard entry:

- (a) It is noted at line 9 of the SDAS list concerning the first 17 kings:

PAB 17 LUGAL.MEŠ-*a-ni* *a-ši-bu-ti kúl-ta-ri*

“Total 17 kings who dwelt in tents”.

- (b) Of the next ten it is noted, at line 20:

PAB 10 LUGAL.MEŠ-*a-ni* *ša AD-MEŠ-šu-nu?-ni*

“Total ten kings whose fathers (are known?)”.

- (c) Of the next six it is said at lines 24 and 25:

PAB 6 LUGAL.MEŠ-*a-ni*
 [x x x] 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 *ša li-ma-a-ni—šú-nu la-u-tu-ni*

“Total of six kings,...[who occur? on?] bricks, whose (records of?) eponyms have been destroyed”.

of temple as: “... essentially the house in which a god lives, manages his worldly business, is served by his household and by his people, and through his own success, ensures the happiness and prosperity of his city and her inhabitants.” “The Temple in Babylonia” in *Le temple et le culte: Compte rendu de la vingtième Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale organisée à Leiden du 3 au 7 juillet 1972*, Leiden 1975, pp. 31-35, p. 35. This is, I think, an ostensive definition, as it does not say what the god’s “worldly business” is: this will have varied from temple to temple, time to time and region to region.

(d) At lines 26-7, there is an almost completely obliterated reference to Erišu I, which Gelb restores to read “Erišu son of Ilu-šuma, [whose eponymie]s (are known?), 40 years he ruled”.¹⁸

(e) The next annotation is at lines 38 and following, and refers to Šamši-Adad I, who is the 39th king in the list. I set this pericope out in full below when I ask whether the list can be said to legitimize his alleged usurpation of the Assyrian throne.

(f) Aššur-dugul, the 41st king, and the six rulers following, are dealt with in lines ii 8-12:

1 Aššur-dugul A 1 la ma-ma-na	la EN GIŠ.GU.ZA 6 MU.MEŠ KI.MIN
ina ʔar-si 1 Aššur-dugul	DUMU 1 la ma-ma-na
Aššur-A-Zu 1 PAB-ir- Sin	1 Sin-na-mir 1 Ip-qi-15
1 IM-sa-lu-lu 1 A-da-si	6 LUGAL.MEŠ-ni A la ma-ma-na
KÁ ʔup-pi-šu	LUGAL-ta DÛ-uš

“Aššur-dugul, son of a nobody, not suitable to the throne, ruled six years.
At the period of Aššur-dugul, son of a nobody,
Aššur-apli-idi, Nasir-Sin, Sin-namir, Ipqi-Ištar,
Adad-salulu, (and) Adasi, six kings (each of them) son of a nobody
Each considered himself true king, and ruled.”¹⁹

Some questions arise: why has the list moved on to Aššur-dugul, while omitting reference to the descendants of Šamši-Adad I after Išme-Dagan, and to Puzur-Sîn? It appears that the house of Šamši-Adad continued after Išme-Dagan: the monarchs who succeeded Išme-Dagan may have been Mut-Aškur, Rimuš, Rimuni and Asinu. Asinu is known from the inscription of Puzur-Sîn.²⁰ Is the AKL deliberately omitting them? But why would it do so? It would appear to have excluded both some of the line of Šamši-Adad and also the great opponent of that line (as known to us). If the AKL, or its writer, is taking a partisan position, it is hard to see what it is. The simplest suggestion to account for these anomalies is that these rulers were not known to the compilers working in the time of Aššur-nasir-pal I.

(g) In lines ii 13-20, Lullaya, the 53rd king, is described as being the son of a nobody in line ii 19. He succeeds Bazaya who reigned for 28 years, a

¹⁸ I.J. Gelb, *loc. cit.* (n. 6), p. 224.

¹⁹ I translate the phrase “KÁ ʔup-pi-šu” thus, following Yamada’s notes in “The Editorial History of the Assyrian King List,” *ZA* (1994), pp. 11-38 at pp. 26-27, n.48, that it must mean something like “by his own authority”, (lit. “by his tablet”). Today we say “in his own book he is...” (“a legend”, or whatever) meaning that “he may not be so objectively, but in his own subjective opinion, he is”.

²⁰ S. Yamada, *loc. cit.* (n.19), pp. 24-25. See also A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 77-78.

son of Belu-bani the 48th king. There is no explanation of why Bazaya was succeeded by Lullaya (not of a royal line) for six years. Lullaya himself was followed by Kidin-Ninua, son of Bazaya. One could speculate that Lullaya was a “protector” and that the line of Libaya had been weak and died out.²¹ However, one thing is clear — at this point at least — the list is not simply blindly asserting a principle of dynastic succession.

(h) Then the AKL continues in an orderly fashion, giving for each king what I have referred to as the standard entry, until line ii 26, when it gives some additional family details other than merely filiation, and also notes filiation even where the king’s father was not himself a king:

1 Šam-ši- IM A 1 Iš-me- Da-gan ŠEŠ-šu ša 1 Šar-ma- IM
DUMU 1 ŠŪ-URU AB ḪA 16 MU.MEŠ MAN-ta DÛ-uš
Šamši-Adad son of Išme-Dagan, his brother (was) Šarma-Adad
The son of Kidin-Ninua ruled for 16 years.

I agree with Yamada as against Gelb, that the Išme-Dagan who was Šamši-Adad III’s father, cannot have been the second king of that name. He must have been a son of a man named Kidin-Ninua who did not ever take the throne, but who being of the royal family, is named when his son takes the throne.²² Here, Yamada observes the weakness in the methodology of assimilating this Išme-Dagan to the king of that name, and then “correcting” the AKL to fit in with a fixed theory.²³ Perhaps the AKL includes this information about the father and family of Šamši-Adad III to make clear who he was, and his connection to the throne.

(i) Then, for the 65th king, Aššur-rabi I, at lines ii33-4, it reads:

[1 Aššu]r-GAL-bi A 1 BE-PAB- [ir 1 Aššur-šad-u-ni ina GIŠ. GU.ZA]
[ú-šar-b]i GIŠ.GU.ZA iṣ-[bat x MU.MEŠ MAN-ta DÛ-uš]

“Aššur-rabi son of Enlil-nasir [deposed] Aššur-šaduni from the throne, [seized] the throne [and ruled (missing) years.]”

Aššur-šaduni, son of Nur-ili and grandson of Enlil-nasir, was of the line of kings accepted by those later Assyrians who used the AKL. The list is not attempting, at least not at this point, to present a picture of an unbroken chain of monarchs succeeding in orderly fashion from father to son. Aššur-

²¹ Yamada says that there must have been “political strife resulting in the removal of Lullaya by force.” *loc. cit.* (n. 19), p. 27. But the AKL does not say this, and it could have done so. Yamada could be right, but how can we tell?

²² This name is also given as Šu-ninua by Yamada e.g. *ibid.*, p. 28.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 28 n.51.

rabi himself must have been his second predecessor Nur-ili's brother²⁴ and thus Aššur-šaduni's uncle; but his deposition of his own nephew is passed over in this brief fashion by the list.

(j) Aššur-rabi was succeeded by his son, Aššur-nadin-ahhe. But the list notes that he was then deposed by his brother, Enlil-nasir. Again, the fact is simply noted.

(k) Similarly, the list briefly notes that the 78th ruler, Tukulti-Ninurta (one of the great kings of Assyria) was deposed by his son Aššur-nadin-apli. There is a short comment, perhaps to the effect that Tukulti-Ninurta was alive when the revolution occurred.

(l) At line iii 15, for the 82nd king, the AKL reads:

1 MAŠ-DUMU.UŠ-Ékur A 1	DINGIR- <i>i-had-da</i> <i>lîb-lîb</i> ša?!	1 SU- IM
<i>ana Kar-du-ni-dš il-lik</i>	TA <i>Kar-du-ni- dš e-la-a</i>	
GIŠ.GU.ZA <i>iš-bat</i>	3 MU.MEŠ K1.MIN	

“Ninurta-apil-Ekur son of Ilu-ihadda descendant of Eriba-Adad went to Babylon, (then) came up from Babylon, seized the throne, and ruled for three years.”

(m) At line iii20, for the 85th king, the AKL notes that Mutakkil-Nusku fought with his brother, deported him to Babylon, held the throne and then died. It does not note the number of years that he reigned.²⁵ If the length of his reign is unimportant, perhaps we are intended to understand that he was not a king whose rule was recognised as a kingly rule for the purposes of the list, but which was included to explain the descent of later kings: namely, Aššur-reš-isi, and the famous king Tukulti-apil-Ešarra and his heirs, among whom were numbered Šamši-Adad IV and Aššur-nasir-pal I. In this respect, no number of years is allocated to those persons named after Aššur-dugul and described as rulers “by their own authority” (if this translation is correct) who considered themselves to be true kings. However, as Adasi (one of their number) is father of Belu-bani and his dynasty, perhaps their names were included to give some context to Adasi and thus to his line. Another possibility would be that a king had to be on the throne for at least the commencement of one full eponymous year, and if he died before that year, the period he was on the throne is counted within his predecessor's year.²⁶

²⁴ Nur-ili held the throne in his own right.

²⁵ I.J. Gelb, *loc. cit.* (n. 6), p. 228.

²⁶ There is no evidence for this; it is only a hypothesis.

- (n) The next notation is that for Šamši-Adad IV – ruler 91 – at line iii33:

1 Šam-ši- IM	A 1 GIŠ.KU-ti-A-É- šár-ra
TA Kar-du-ni-áš	e-la-a
1 SU- IM	DUMU 1 Aššur EN-ka-la
ina GIŠ.GU.ZA ú-šat-bi GIŠ.GU.ZA	iš-bat 4 MU.MEŠ MAN-ta [DÙ-uš]

“Šamši-Adad son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra
came up from Babylon
he deposed from the throne Eriba-Adad, son of Aššur-bel-kala
seized the throne and ruled for four years.”

It is important to note that there are no notations whatsoever for any of the other eighteen kings after this point over and above the name of the king, the name of his father, and the number of years he ruled. Most importantly, this is the last reference to Babylon — however spelt!

Analysis

When the AKL provides more than the standard details of its listed rulers, the details are usually brief. It also, as we have seen, provides references to Babylon exclusively for the kings prior to number 92 viz. Aššur-nasir-pal I. To review the references found over and above the standard details: the first four notes, points (a) to (d) as set out above, seem designed to set out the little which was known of the regnal details concerning the named kings e.g. the kings in tents. There are four references, at points (e), (l), (m) and (n) above, to Babylon. Significantly, three of these occur in a cluster, at kings 82, 88 and 91. In the cases of Šamši-Adad I and IV, and Ninurta-apil-Ekur, the man comes up from Babylon to take Aššur and rule. In the fourth case, Mutakkil-Nusku, there is a note that he exiled his brother to Babylon. Points (i), (j) and (k) above, note with a minimum of comment that a king was deposed. Two references [at points (f) and (g) above] are to rulers being “sons of nobodies”: Aššur-dugul and his successors (if they succeeded him as king); and Lullaya. As I have hypothesized above, these seem to be there mainly to give context to Adasi and Belu-bani. Only at point (h) is the identity of a king’s brother given, perhaps because, as stated above, the king was doubtless of the royal family, although probably not the son of a king.

This does not tell us much about what the Assyrians thought the list to be. But it must have had some importance to them, as it was updated from time to time.

How does one approach such a document as the AKL? Speaking of the various word lists which have survived, Larsen says that: “... the predomi-

nance of the unconnected list as a tool for scholarly work points to an oral complement, the ‘teachings’ of a master.”²⁷ This must be fundamentally correct so long as not interpreted too absolutely. That is, one cannot say that the AKL was necessarily related to the teachings of a “master”. However, one can say that it must have existed within a larger cultural context which complemented it, and mediated its significance. That cultural context may have been preserved and passed on orally.

Does the AKL legitimise Šamši-Adad’s “usurpation” of the throne of Aššur?

Is there good reason to accept that the AKL contains material “representing an alien tradition which was introduced by the Šamši-Adad dynasty, apparently for propagandistic reasons”?²⁸ Does it really include the genealogical tree of Šamši-Adad I?²⁹ Or, on the contrary, was it tampered with by the opponents of the Šamši-Adad dynasty to indicate that they (i.e. the opponents) were the “legitimate successors of Ušpia”?³⁰ In my opinion, none of these views are plausible. A point to be stated at the outset is that, read on its own terms, the AKL does not in the least legitimise Šamši-Adad. It states, without apology, that he seized the throne. There is no attempt whatsoever to *explicitly* justify this. For example, it does not state that “Šamši-Adad retook his father’s throne”; yet it could have done so. There is only one fact, the reference to an earlier king with the same name as his father, which links Šamši-Adad to any part of the “genealogical tree”. One might think that this alone would give pause to anyone who asserts that the creation of the list had a political or “public relations” motive. As Hallo notes, there is no evidence that Šamši-Adad needed legitimization.³¹ Recently, Brinkman, too, has expressed doubts about the “Šamši-Adad theory”, while accepting that a list of his ancestors was inserted into an Assyrian King List.³² Instead, he suggests, the AKL was written by a ruler of perhaps the Middle Assyrian period who sought legitimization by association with Šamši-Adad I.³³

²⁷ M.T. Larsen, “The Mesopotamian Lukewarm Mind: Reflections on Science, Divination and Literacy,” *Language, Literature and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*, ed. F. Rochberg-Halton, Connecticut 1987, pp. 203-225, p. 219.

²⁸ M.T. Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City-State and its Colonies*, Copenhagen 1976, p. 36.

²⁹ Per B. Landsberger, *loc. cit.* (n. 3), p. 33.

³⁰ H. Lewy, *loc. cit.* (n. 11), p. 746.

³¹ W.W. Hallo, “Assyrian Historiography Revisited,” *Eretz Israel*, 14 (1978), pp. 1-7, pp. 5-6.

³² J.A. Brinkman, “Glassner’s Mesopotamian Chronicles,” *JAOS*, 115 (1995), pp. 667-670, pp. 669-670.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 667-670.

Interestingly, the latest in-depth study concludes that there is no evidence for the legitimization theory. In Yamada's view, the "compiler... merely attempted to show in a single composition two aspects of Šamši-Adad's kingship... (viz) his Amorite dynastic descent... and... his membership in the Assyrian royal line."³⁴ This view is cited only to demonstrate that any "legitimization" flows from the reader's own *interpretation* of the text.

It has been noted elsewhere that the brief details often refer to Babylon.³⁵ I speculate below as to why this was so. Of course, Babylon is referred to as "Karduniaš". "Karduniaš" is probably a term used by the Kassites, first attested around the time of Kara-indaš (c. 1413 BC), to refer to either Babylonia or the area which they ruled. Its use among the kings of Aššur is first known from the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (c. 1244-1208 BC). After the fall of the Kassites (c. 1157 BC)³⁶ it is found in Assyrian inscriptions, apparently as a synonym for "Babylonia".³⁷ As part of a royal title, at the time of publication, Seux found attested uses of the title "šar mat Karduniaš" for the following Assyrian rulers: Tukulti-Ninurta I, Šamši-Adad V (823-811 BC) and Esarhaddon (680-669 BC).³⁸

Landsberger believes that the editor or updater of the AKL is consciously using an archaism for effect. This would mean, that the use of the term is of none but the most limited assistance in dating the text, and thus leaves Landsberger free to say that the creator of the original list was Šamši-Adad I.³⁹ Although Landsberger says that the term is an archaism he says that the document is early — it is an archaism that finds its way into the text much later, when it is being edited. One might also have thought that if the writer was trying for an antique effect, he could easily have inserted other archaisms. But Landsberger does not point to any, neither does he attempt to show how such a literary device would have augmented the AKL. To put this another way, one can see how archaisms can be used and elaborated in substantial inscriptions, and their aesthetic effect explains their use. But what is the point of such effects in a list?

³⁴ S. Yamada, *loc. cit.* (n. 19), p. 19. I do not see that as expressed, this is necessarily inconsistent with the "legitimization" theory.

³⁵ P. Garelli, "Réflexions sur les listes royales assyriennes," *Miscellanea Babylonica*, ed. J.-M. Durand and J.-R. Kupper, Paris 1985, pp. 91-95, p. 93; who notes also that Grayson has remarked upon this.

³⁶ See the chronological table by J. Brinkman in A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, revised E. Reiner, Chicago 1977, p. 338.

³⁷ J.A. Brinkman, "Karduniaš," *Reallexicon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, V (1976-1980), p. 423.

³⁸ M.-J. Seux, *Épithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes*, Paris 1967, p. 302.

³⁹ See B. Landsberger, *loc. cit.* (n. 3), p. 35.

It is pertinent to observe that logically, it is very difficult to sustain the argument that a phrase is an archaism unless one demonstrates the literary effect of it. Otherwise, the argument becomes self-supporting. A scholar argues that a particular text is early: when presented in that text with a term which cannot have been used so early, it must be tempting to argue that the use of the term in the document can only be an archaism placed there by a later editor. Before departing this area, it could be observed that Larsen believes: "... the remark about the kings who lived in tents belongs to the Amorite tradition and has no real significance for the early history of Assur."⁴⁰ However, if we read the list as it is, surely we would understand that it is significant in the history of Aššur. Oates and Lewy draw this conclusion. Oates formulates a theory that nomadic ancestors of the Assyrians may have used Aššur as a seasonal base and cultic centre, eventually becoming entirely sedentary.⁴¹ Lewy concludes that "the tent-dwellers were not successive Assyrian kings but the ancestors of the nomadic tribes which constituted the Assyrian nation".⁴²

At this juncture, the crucial issue is not the soundness of either theory, but they are noteworthy, as showing that this portion of the list can easily *and without contrivance* be read as being relevant to the history of the Assyrian "nation".

The text of the AKL is readily available in Gelb's edition, and there is no need to set out here the portions prior to the mention of Šamši-Adad. Passing directly to this pericope, the AKL reads:⁴³

[1 Šam-ši- IM	DUMU 1 DINGIR- <i>kab-ka-bi</i>]
[<i>ina ʔar-si</i>	1 <i>Na-ram- Sin</i>]
[<i>a-na Kar-du-ni-āš</i> DU-ik	<i>ina lim-me</i> 1 <i>Ib-ni-</i> IM]
[1 Šam-ši- IM	TA <i>Kar-du-ni-āš e-la-a</i>]
É.GAL.MEŠ <i>iš-bat</i>	3 MU.MEŠ <i>i-na</i> É.GAL.MEŠ
<i>lu ú-ši-ib</i>	<i>ina lim-me</i> 1 <i>A-ta-mar-15</i>
1 Šam-ši- IM	TA É.GAL.MEŠ <i>e-la-a</i>
1 <i>E-ri-šu</i>	DUMU 1 <i>Na-ram- Sin</i>]
<i>ina</i> GIŠ.GU.ZA <i>ú-šat-bi</i>	GIŠ.GU.ZA <i>iš-bat</i>
33 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> DÛ- <i>uš</i> .

⁴⁰ M.T. Larsen, *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 36.

⁴¹ D. Oates, *Studies in the History of Northern Iraq*, London 1968, p. 24.

⁴² H. Lewy, *loc. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 743-745.

⁴³ I.J. Gelb, *loc. cit.* (n. 6), p. 213. I omit Gelb's references to variant readings between the Khorsabad and SDAS exemplars.

I translate this as:

“[Šamši-Adad, the son of Ilu-kabkabi, at the time of Naram-Sin, went to Babylon. In the *limmu*-year of Ibni-Adad, Šamši-Adad rose up from Babylon] and seized Ekallatum. For three years, indeed, he dwelt in Ekallatum. In the *limmu*-year of Atamat-Ištar, Šamši-Adad rose up from Ekallatum, and from the throne, he deposed Erišu, the son of Naram-Sin. The throne he seized. 33 years he wielded the kingship.”

Bases of the Received Theory: (a) Interpretation

It seems clear that the AKL does not explicitly seek to legitimize Šamši-Adad's seizure of the throne. How then, does the theory that it does, arise? This might follow from the two following matters. First, from a particular interpretation of the text; and second, from the inscription of Puzur-Sîn. The interpretation I refer to is, of course, unstated in the text itself. It is based on two fundamental assumptions:

- (i) first, that the list of ancestors (kings 17 to 26) is a list of personal ancestors of Šamši-Adad I; and
- (ii) second, the Ilu-kabkabi named in the AKL as being the father of Šamši-Adad in the pericope which deals with Šamši-Adad, is identical to the king listed as the 25th in the list.

Then, so I think the modern argument really runs, the ancient Assyrians would think something along the lines that Ilu-kabkabi having been king before Erišu and his successors, Šamši-Adad was merely regaining his birth-right. As Saggs put it, the AKL shows him: “... inheriting an ancestral right to the throne of Assyria, long prior to the supplanted dynasty.”⁴⁴ It seems to me that this is a most unlikely interpretation for any reader. If it was the intention of the list's author that a reader would so conclude, then the author erred.⁴⁵ Granted the amount of detail offered about Šamši-Adad, the author could have added an extra phrase to explicate this. However, as is suggested below, the mooted interpretation was not the author's intention at all.

As noted, if the list is to be read as suggested (as a straightforward chronology of successive kings), then it states that Ilu-kabkabi was succeeded by his son Aminu, and he by his son Sulili, who was followed by five kings, and then another six, each of whom is the son of the one who went before.

⁴⁴ H.W.F. Saggs, *The Might that was Assyria*, London 1984, p. 25.

⁴⁵ Of course, it is not impossible that the author of the AKL meant it to be ancillary to an oral tradition, and that tradition would have articulated the apologetic purpose of the entry. However, we only have the written list to work from.

Would anyone readily believe that twelve rulers had held the throne while Šamši-Adad dwelt in Babylon, and then spent three years in Ekallatum? I suspect that even an ancient Mesopotamian would have balked at being asked to accept that Šamši-Adad I had been preceded on the throne of Aššur by his father, his brother, then his nephew (not that anyone today believes that Sulili was his nephew)⁴⁶ and then eleven further monarchs. If the reader is meant to take the Ilu-kabkabi first mentioned in the AKL as being Šamši-Adad's father, then the time sequence is obviously absurd. There are only two possibilities: either the Ilu-kabkabi shown as reigning as a king of Aššur in his own right in this list is not the father of Šamši-Adad, or else the editor did not intend each portion of the list to be read as strictly chronological.⁴⁷ There seems to be an unspoken assumption that there could only have been one Ilu-kabkabi. Yet, why should this be so? We know, for example, that there was a Hammurapi, king of Kurda who corresponded with the more famous Babylonian king of that name.⁴⁸ This is probably a more striking coincidence.

There is one other matter which seems to be decisive here: in the extant major Assyrian inscriptions, including the stamped bricks referred to below, Šamši-Adad does not refer to his father at all. Further, in other inscriptions, also from Aššur, where he does refer to his father, he never names him as having been the *ensi* of Aššur. If Šamši-Adad had a consistent policy, and had been willing to create a deceptive king list, why would he not have named his father as a king when mentioning him here?⁴⁹ Garelli had mused whether there might have been two persons named Ilu-kabkabi, but concluded that the AKL is referring to the same person.⁵⁰ However, he did not attempt to consistently work out the ramifications of this speculation. In my opinion, there is no good reason to positively believe that when the AKL refers to Ilu-kabkabi the father of Aminu, it was also referring to Ilu-kabkabi the father of Šamši-Adad.

What do we know of any ruler named Ilu-kabkabi? We do not have independent evidence of any Ilu-kabkabi who ruled Aššur at all — although

⁴⁶ See Yamada, *loc. cit.* (n. 19), p. 19.

⁴⁷ I had already considered this to be a possibility before I became aware of the article by Wu Yuhong and Stephanie Dalley, "The Origins of the Manana Dynasty at Kish, and the Assyrian King List," *Iraq*, 52 (1990), pp. 159-165.

⁴⁸ J.T. Luke, *Pastoralism and Politics in the Mari Period*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Ann Arbor 1965, p. 210. There was a Hammurapi in Ugarit: see the index to H. Klengel, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.*, Berlin 1992, p. 250.

⁴⁹ Of course, he may not have had a consistent policy; but we can only use the materials available, and there is no clear evidence of a claim by Šamši-Adad to a hereditary right to rule Aššur.

⁵⁰ P. Garelli, *loc. cit.* (n. 35), p. 91.

we do know that the father of Šamši-Adad ruled Ekallatum, and had contracted an alliance with Yaggid-Lim, who probably ruled Suprum and Terqa, but not Mari. For some reason, this alliance faltered, and Ilu-kabkabi destroyed Suprum. The year after this conquest, Šamši-Adad took his father's throne (we assume that Ilu-kabkabi died), controlling the same territory his father had.⁵¹ There is evidence that Aminu the brother of Šamši-Adad was a ruler. The "Mari Eponym Chronicle"⁵² shows that he may have ruled at the same time as Šamši-Adad, and fought Ipiq-Adad II of Eshnunna.⁵³ Aminu is said to reign for 15 years and be succeeded by Ilu-kabkabi. Birot suggests several scenarios: first, there could be two rulers of the name Ilu-kabkabi; meaning, as I surmise, that Aminu was succeeded by one of his sons, whom he had named after his father. Birot's second suggestion is that Ilu-kabkabi could have dethroned his own son; or, third, Ilu-kabkabi could have retaken the throne from him. The material is, unfortunately, inconclusive.⁵⁴

It is significant that there is no unequivocal evidence that the Aminu who was the brother of Šamši-Adad, ruled Assyria. There are the two seals of servants referred to in *RIMA*, but it is not universally agreed that this is the Aminu who was the brother of Šamši-Adad.⁵⁵ Kupper seems to proceed on the basis that the first of these texts (which was the only one known until the second was recently recognized by Dominique Collon) must have been created by a servant of the brother, but he does not seem able to confidently integrate the role of Aminu into Assyrian history.⁵⁶ So we are left with a situation where there is in fact no evidence that the Aminu honoured on the seals was the brother of Šamši-Adad I. The Mari chronicle does not ever state that Aminu ruled Aššur. Thus, there could have been two persons named Aminu:

1. Aminu of the seals, who ruled Aššur, and for whom there is no direct evidence that he was the brother of Šamši-Adad I; and
2. Aminu of the Mari chronicle, who was the brother of Šamši-Adad, but for whom there is no direct evidence that he ever ruled Aššur.

We know little of the family of the mighty monarch who (on Birot's figures)⁵⁷ ruled Aššur for 33 years as part of an overall reign of 57 years. Signifi-

⁵¹ Moshe Anbar, *Les Tribus Amurrites de Mari*, Freiberg 1991, pp. 39-40.

⁵² In M. Birot, "Les chroniques <assyriennes> de Mari," *MARI*, IV (1985), pp. 219-242.

⁵³ W. Yuhong and S. Dalley, *loc. cit.* (n. 47), p. 164.

⁵⁴ M. Birot, *loc. cit.* (n. 52), pp. 221-224.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

⁵⁶ J.-R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari*, Paris 1957, pp. 211-212.

⁵⁷ M. Birot, *loc. cit.* (n. 52), p. 224.

cantly, Šamši-Adad never said that Aminu ruled Aššur. This omission is incredible if Aminu the brother of Šamši-Adad had ruled Aššur. If this Aminu ever ruled, then in lieu of further evidence, we must say that he did not rule Aššur. If “Aminu of the seals” was not the brother of Šamši-Adad I, then we possess independent evidence for the accuracy of the AKL in this controversial portion. That is, the seals themselves comprise evidence that the pericopes of the AKL which mention Aminu are accurate in that there was a ruler of Aššur named Aminu. This is a positive indication that neither his name nor the relevant pericopes were inserted into Assyrian history for political reasons.

We do not know how the brother of Šamši-Adad I named Aminu met his end, or when, and what tradition made of him (if anything). I have found nothing in the royal correspondence of Mari which refers to him (although he was the uncle of Yasmah-Addu and Išme-Dagan). Letter 3 of book 1, of the *Archives Royales de Mari*,⁵⁸ comprises the famous letter to a god.⁵⁹ In that letter, Yasmah-Addu, the son of Šamši-Adad who ruled Mari, wrote that his family were known as a family which always kept its word, thus keeping its vows to the gods. He asseverates that it was Yaggid-Lim who transgressed against Ilu-kabkabi, and not *vice versa*. He seems also to mention Šamši-Adad in a similar context. However, there is no (surviving) mention in the letter of anyone named “Aminu”.⁶⁰ Had Aminu his uncle been the ruler of Aššur, one would have expected such a reference.

There is evidence of “name clusters” in Assyrian royal history, where groups of names recur together. It does not seem impossible that the father of Šamši-Adad I, when he was given the name “Ilu-kabkabi”, was named after an Amorite who had been a ruler of Aššur. Neither would it be wonderful that he should name one of his sons “Aminu”, as had the first ruler of Aššur who was named Ilu-kabkabi. Now, if the AKL is not referring to the father and brother of Šamši-Adad, which is not unlikely, especially given the gap of several generations between the relevant persons, then the entire basis for the Landsberger theory attributing the AKL to Šamši-Adad collapses.

Bases of the Received Theory: (b) Puzur-Sîn

The inscription of Puzur-Sîn might buttress the theory that Šamši-Adad sought “legitimization”. Apart from this inscription, there may be one other

⁵⁸ *Archives Royales de Mari*, ed. A. Parrot and Georges Dossin, volume 1 *Correspondance de Šamši-Addu et de ses fils*, Paris 1950, pp. 24-27.

⁵⁹ D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand, “La prise du pouvoir par Zimri-Lim,” *MARI*, IV (1985), p. 293. This is part of a much larger article which deals at pp. 299-300 with Šamši-Adad.

⁶⁰ For one example of the description of the letter as being a letter to a god, see H. Lewy, “The Chronology of the Mari Texts,” *La Civilisation de Mari*, ed. J.-R. Kupper, Liège 1967, p. 20.

surviving reference to Puzur-Sîn, but it is not certain that it concerns the author of the inscription, and the reference is uninformative.⁶¹ Puzur-Sîn refers to himself as *ensi* of Aššur, and says that he destroyed the evil (*lemutu*) of Asinu, the offspring of Šamši-Adad, and instituted proper rule for Aššur. He boasts of destroying the wall and palace of Šamši-Adad, saying that Šamši-Adad himself had destroyed Assyrian shrines. He refers to Šamši-Adad as a “foreign plague, not of the flesh of the city Ashur”.⁶²

What can be made of this text? That Šamši-Adad was not a native Assyrian is clear: he only ever claimed to be the *ensi* and to have governed well. He never presented himself or his family as being native Assyrian. But I do not think that Puzur-Sîn is referring to race here: I think he is referring to provenance. In this respect, I disagree with Grayson who sees Puzur-Sîn as excoriating Šamši-Adad for being Amorite. Puzur-Sîn criticized the family as not being from Aššur. There is very little evidence of racism at this time in Mesopotamia. Even some of the Ur III derogatory references to Amorites may be criticizing lifestyle and culture rather than race. But that is not directly my concern here. When one considers that the Assyrian inscriptions to this time have not had any references which could be construed as racist, then one must, I think, present good reasons to read this inscription in such a manner. Further, Oded’s view of this inscription is that Puzur-Sîn made this allegation in order to bolster his own legitimacy.⁶³ This does more respect to the text as it does not read a modern ideology into a few short lines.

We know of no other allegation that Šamši-Adad destroyed anything in Aššur. If he had, one cannot conceive that he would have been lionized by four other kings who took his name. The man who was not accepted as a ruler by later Assyrian tradition, was Puzur-Sîn. Also, Puzur-Sîn says that he has destroyed a palace and wall which Šamši-Adad built. To destroy such constructions in one’s own city, when there is no suggestion that they were derelict, is most unusual in Mesopotamia. Monarchs such as Šamši-Adad are forever saying that they tore down those works which were in a state of disrepair. This expression of the fact that the buildings were in bad repair may be connected with the royal fear that other rulers will not respect their monuments and replace their inscriptions. These kings were careful of the example they would be seen to set for posterity, and they wanted their suc-

⁶¹ K. Deller, “Zum ana balat — Formular einiger Assyrischer Votivinschriften,” *Oriens Antiquus*, 22 (1983), pp. 13-24, pp. 14-15.

⁶² A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 77-78.

⁶³ B. Oded, *War, Peace and Empire: Justifications for War in Assyrian Inscriptions*, Wiesbaden 1992, pp. 73 and 76.

cessors to treat their works with reverence, so they laid down good precedents in this regard.

Has Puzur-Sîn done exactly what he goes on to curse anyone else doing? Is he fabricating a pretext for his own impiety? The terms of the inscription appear to be an attempt to reverse Šamši-Adad's use of the Babylonian dialect, and to revert to Old Assyrian.⁶⁴ Clearly, he is rejecting Šamši-Adad's innovation. But in the name of what? I suspect that we would be closer to an answer if we knew the identity of the god "Ilula" whose gate Puzur-Sîn so honours. However, searches of Tallqvist and the *RLA* proved to be fruitless in this regard.

This inscription is eloquent also for what it does not say. Note that Puzur-Sîn does not say that he defeated the Šamši-Adad dynasty in battle, or that he is a warrior. Unlike the earlier native kings, he does not say that he has encouraged trade. Puzur-Sîn does not say very much about what he actually did: and this is part of our problem. While I must concede that I cannot prove what Puzur-Sîn was about, and why, we have, perhaps, too little evidence to prove anything about it or its author. I doubt that this text could provide a sound basis for thinking of Šamši-Adad as an Amorite usurper. He was, however, a conqueror; and in the later Assyrian tradition he was respected as such.

Is the AKL relevant to the history of Old Assyria?

If the prevailing view is correct, it is odd that the list commences with those men who were not kings of the city Aššur. If one accepts the "legitimization" hypothesis, there is this mild paradox: it is a distortion of the *emphasis* of the list to say that it joins the history of Šamši-Adad I to that of Aššur; it would appear to do the opposite. That is, it would link the history of Aššur to that of Šamši-Adad. Is it plausible that the Assyrian scribes maintained a list which fused their Assyrian history into second place behind an "alien" Amorite history? Yuhong and Dalley have shown that in the early second millennium BC, and among the Amorites themselves, the term LUGAL did not necessarily refer to a ruler who had exclusive rights over one area — indeed, two "kings" could recognise each other's rights "even in the same city".⁶⁵

Yuhong and Dalley conclude that it was possible for one area to be ruled by two kings at one time, one ruling the settled, urban population and the

⁶⁴ A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 77.

⁶⁵ W. Yuhong and S. Dalley *loc. cit.* (n. 47), p. 161.

other the nomadic encampments.⁶⁶ Were the Assyrians related, perhaps closely related, to the Amorites (or some part of them)? Hallo says that the language and culture of the Old Assyrians show not only “strong links to Old Akkadian traditions”, but also “a sizeable admixture of Amorite elements.”⁶⁷ Van Driel notes that in the temple of Aššur there was a chapel which was shared by Enlil and Dagan, and that Aššur would “visit” Dagan there⁶⁸ (i.e. his statue would be taken there in procession). This could be significant, as a term for priest, *kumrum*, related to an Aramaic word, passed into Old Assyrian, indicating — I would think fairly persuasively — that cults had also entered Aššur from a West Semitic provenance.⁶⁹ One of the main theories of the purpose of the AKL is that it was used for a liturgical purpose, as it seems the Genealogy of the Hammurapi dynasty (“GHD”) was.⁷⁰ I shall deal below with the GHD, and this theory. I turn at this point to consider when the AKL was compiled.

Yamada observes that Sulili is said to be the son of Aminu, and that “the chronographer of Šamši-Adad’s family is too near the fact to deliberately give such wrong information.”⁷¹ However, rather than conclude that the compiler might have lived long after Šamši-Adad, he infers that this detail of filiation was “probably added in a later redaction in which the redactor attempted to understand the list as chronologically straightforward.”⁷² Thus, Yamada speculates and accepts as fact that the ancient scribe erred, and recommends discounting the stated filiation of Sulili to “correct” the error. To sustain the Šamši-Adad I thesis, it was necessary to invent a correction for which there is no evidence whatsoever.

Also, it seems to me that if one offers a motive for editorial alteration with a text, one should assume that the motive will be consistently applied. Thus, it has been said that an ancient scribe may have added the filiation of Sulili because he wanted to express an understanding that the AKL was “chronologically straightforward”. However, in that case, the theory should point to a thorough working out of this principle. Otherwise, the penalty is

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁶⁷ W.W. Hallo, *loc. cit.* (n. 31), p. 3 citing J. Lewy “Amurritica” *HUCA*, 32 (1961), pp. 31-74.

⁶⁸ J. van Driel, *The Cult of Assur*, Assen 1969, pp. 40-41 and 43.

⁶⁹ H. Lewy, *loc. cit.* (n. 11), p. 719. The CAD gives *kumru* as “priest” and notes that it was found only in Old Assyrian, Mari and Middle Assyrian. It does not offer any derivation for it.

⁷⁰ See W.G. Lambert, *loc. cit.* (n. 4), dealt with below.

⁷¹ S. Yamada, *loc. cit.* (n. 19), p. 19. We are not sure that Sulili was not the son of Aminu. The evidence is non-existent. Yamada’s view depends upon the belief that this Aminu was the brother of Šamši-Adad I and that someone is attempting to forge an unhistorical link between the Amorite and the Assyrian kings.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

credibility. In considering Yamada's view that the scribe added the detail of filiation to the name Sulili to express his (mis)understanding, one may ask why the scribe did not do similarly for each of the kings without filiation?

It is hard to think of a reason for such a haphazard procedure. Rather, the fact that of the six kings, the father of one only (Sulili) is named, suggests that the other relevant names were not known to the compiler of the AKL.

Yamada is also sceptical that Išme-Dagan ruled for 40 years as stated in the AKL, and concludes that this pericope must have been written long after his reign, and inserted into that place.⁷³ *Pace* Yamada, this conclusion seems artificial. Why would a portion be placed into the text simply to give a length for a reign?

Yamada also notes the errors in the AKL in the filiation of Aššur-narari II (the son of Aššur-rabi I not of Enlil-nasir II as stated in the AKL)⁷⁴ and of Aššur-rem-nišešu (the son of Aššur-narari II not of Aššur-bel-nišešu).⁷⁵ Again, he states that the list must have (at least for this portion) been composed long afterwards, and that it could not be due to a scribal error as "there is no similarity phonetic or graphic, between the erroneous and correct names".⁷⁶

These rulers, Aššur-narari II and Aššur-rem-nišešu, were — so far as we know — minor rulers of the Assyrian dark ages. Yamada is surely correct to see an error rather than a deliberate misstatement here. But is there any need to conclude that there was a time gap between the writing of the preceding portions and this one? The occasion of this speculation is the circumstance that Yamada is already committed to the standard opinion that Šamši-Adad I created the AKL. By contrast, my hypothesis has the attraction of simplicity: if Aššur-nasir-pal I caused the AKL to be written, it was partly out of concern for the poor state of Assyrian records. The deficiencies of those records were even then apparent in three areas: antique history, the time immediately after Išme-Dagan I, and the generations immediately before Aššur-uballit I.⁷⁷

Yamada explains away the philological evidence that the AKL was created in the Middle Assyrian period by the hypothesis that "the original

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31. See also A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* (n. 2), per the inscription of Aššur-rêṁ-nišešu, p. 101.

⁷⁵ S. Yamada, *loc. cit.* (n. 19), p. 31; also A.K. Grayson, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 101.

⁷⁶ Of course, this encourages me in my view that the AKL was created after all of these kings.

⁷⁷ I concede, of course, that I cannot prove that Aššur-nasir-pal created the AKL. I can only assemble a case for the plausibility of any portion of my hypothesis.

composition of Šamši-Adad I's family was later affected orthographically, linguistically and phraseologically."⁷⁸

Now, the text refers to Babylon as "Karduniaš", a pointer to the Middle Assyrian period.⁷⁹ One would be fairly justified in assuming that the author of the text lived in that period, although it is possible that a copyist (himself universally followed from then on), wrote "Karduniaš", updating the material before him.⁸⁰ At the moment, it is thought that the list was used in the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I.⁸¹ This is accepted by the most recent serious study of the AKL.⁸² This view is not based upon any direct evidence, but is premised upon the creation of the early list by Šamši-Adad I.

My thesis is that the list was probably first compiled with all references to Karduniaš together. The lengthy reference to Šamši-Adad I would have special application if the AKL was created during the rule of Aššur-nasir-pal I, son of Šamši-Adad IV. The point is that as the last monarch to have "come up" from Babylon to seize the throne, the references to Šamši-Adad I and the other connections with Babylonia are thus precedents for his action. This would explain, too, why there are no references to any other place or type of political event before that point i.e. they did not assist in providing a precedent. Also, as the AKL was updated to give full regnal details of the last king who ruled, it would seem plausible that it was created by Aššur-nasir-pal I, for it would then have full details for his father. The fact that Aššur-nasir-pal's father was named Šamši-Adad is possibly an important clue. Šamši-Adad IV saw himself as being like the first king of that name in some respects at least: and what would be more striking a similarity than that of having come up from Babylon and taken the throne of Aššur? Šamši-Adad IV will, on this thesis, thus most probably have taken "Šamši-Adad" as a throne name.

I should add that Yamada proposes a thesis which would — if correct — prove that the AKL was created by Šamši-Adad I. Yamada criticizes Landsberger's rationale, and offers a view which needs a little space to do it justice. The thesis is that the ideological basis of Šamši-Adad's rule was so complex that "it does not seem implausible that Šamši-Adad I attempted to place the Amorite descent of his own family and the local king list of the

⁷⁸ S. Yamada, *loc. cit.* (n. 19), p. 21.

⁷⁹ see J.A. Brinkman, *loc. cit.* (n. 37), p. 423.

⁸⁰ J. van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History*, Yale 1983, pp. 75-76.

⁸¹ W.G. Lambert, "Tukulti-Ninurta I and the Assyrian King List," *Iraq*, 38 (1976), pp. 85-94.

⁸² S. Yamada, *loc. cit.* (n. 19), pp. 12-13.

city of Aššur together in a single composition...⁸³ In support of this thesis, he cites the following considerations:

- (a) Aššur, being a sacred city, would have been important to him;
- (b) this is borne out by his frequent self-description as ÉNSI Aššur;
- (c) in an inscription from Aššur he calls it “my city” four times; and
- (d) at one time, Aššur comprised all of Išme-Dagan’s former kingdom.

Thus, Yamada concludes, both Šamši-Adad and Išme-Dagan had a motive to create the AKL. However, to describe Aššur as a sacred city at this point is, on analysis, meaningless. Yamada offers no evidence for this view. That hypothesis has been expressed in other places, chiefly by Lambert, who after noting that it appears as if the god Aššur was the deified city itself, says: “we suggest that it (i.e. the city Aššur) was a holy spot in prehistoric times. It was probably settled because of its strategic site, and the inhabitants, we suggest, exploited the holiness of their place by converting ‘the mountain’ into a city, both practically by building and ideologically, and by changing the *numen loci* into a *deus persona*.”⁸⁴

Larsen is unwilling to accept this theory of how the deification of the city may have come about. He prefers to state that “the basic insight that can be gained... is that in the Old Assyrian texts the concepts [sc. of god and city] merged, for the city was the god and *vice versa*.”⁸⁵ It is not necessary to enter into the controversy on this point, because one may doubt that Lambert’s thesis, even if accepted, will support Yamada’s proposition.

First, Lambert’s theory is explicitly put forward as an unsupported one, and that type of hypothesis, although interesting in itself, is not a solid basis for another otherwise unsupported theory. Second, the holiness of the city would operate upon every king of Aššur — and the question is why Yamada believes Šamši-Adad and not some other monarch to have created the list. Third, the issue is whether Šamši-Adad believed Aššur to be sacred — and I am unaware of any material which deals with this question either way. One could wonder, too, how much weight one can place upon his inscriptions from Aššur itself, without comparing them to inscriptions from other places. In this respect, there is the accident of discovery to consider. As for Išme-Dagan, if Aššur was important to him, how does the AKL manifest that importance? Doubtless a kingdom — or a substantial town within it — must be important to any king. Perhaps its importance would fluctuate over time.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

⁸⁴ W. G. Lambert, “The God Aššur,” *Iraq*, 44 (1982), pp. 82-86, pp. 85-86.

⁸⁵ M.T. Larsen, *op.cit.* (n. 28), pp. 115-117, quoting p. 117.

On the basis of these considerations, any king of Aššur had a motive to create the list. If one wishes to show that the house of Šamši-Adad created the list, one needs specific evidence relating to that king (or those kings) to the exclusion of all others. This is not to say that the early material which is incorporated in the list did not enter the tradition of Aššur at the time of Šamši-Adad. It may well have, but evidence for this has not survived. I suspect that all of the AKL references to Babylon (Karduniaš) were created at the same time. If not, why is no other town mentioned? Why would the scribes who updated the list, thrice refer only to kings and their relationship with Babylon exclusively, after the rule of Tukulti-Ninurta I?⁸⁶ Prior to Tukulti-Ninurta I, Karduniaš is mentioned but once — and that in regard to Šamši-Adad I — hardly an iron precedent, obliging all scribes to unthinkingly imitate it. Such is the nature of the references to Babylon, and their peculiarity in a list otherwise short of commentary, that one can only imagine that the interest in Babylon was the concern of a single author.

It has been previously noted that the entry for Šamši-Adad IV is the last one with information beyond simply the royal name, father and reigning years.⁸⁷ The hypothesis contended for has the advantage of providing some reason for this: the additional material was composed to further an end of either that king or his son, Aššur-nasir-pal. That end having been met, there was no reason for any other scribe to have continued making such elaborations to the basic material. This is not to say that there was no other motive for writing the list: as stated, I suspect that the information was to be preserved at a time when it was perceived to be in danger of being lost. That information itself could have been valuable for any of a number of reasons: it could have been considered good in itself, it may have been wanted for a mortuary cult, for use in compiling inscriptions, or any combination of these or other circumstances. On the hypothesis posited here, the creation of the AKL was used as the occasion for the insertion of these “public relation” comments.

To conclude this portion, the nature of the idiosyncratic references to Karduniaš are such that the most likely thesis is that they were all placed at once. If they serve an apologetic or propogandistic purpose, then the kings who will benefit from this were Šamši-Adad IV and his son Aššur-nasir-pal I. As the list exemplars are all written after the death of a ruler and provide all details of his reign, it is suggested that the AKL was created by Aššur-

⁸⁶ That is, referring to Ninurta-apil-Ekur, Mutakkil-Nusku and Šamši-Adad IV.

⁸⁷ J.A. Brinkman, “The Nassouhi and Assyrian Kinglist Tradition,” *OrNS*, 42 (1973), pp. 306-319, p. 316 n.56.

nasir-pal. However, all that we know is that the AKL must have been created by 912 BC (the date of the Aššur A exemplar).

Another interesting point arises concerning the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty ("the GHD"). This includes a series of names which, it has been said, appear to resemble those of the putative "ancestors" of Šamši-Adad I in the AKL.⁸⁸ The given names in the GHD being those of Amorites, so too, it has been argued, are the "kings who lived in tents" Amorites, and not Assyrians. I shall not pursue the issue in any detail here, but a relatively recent study of Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern genealogies, noted that they could be used in various settings: chiefly, domestic (to express kinship), in politics and law (to express the political and legal relationships between groups), and in religion.⁸⁹ Now these uses are not necessarily mutually exclusive: Wilson notes that the genealogies can seem to conflict, yet each one still be considered "accurate in terms of its function".⁹⁰

Lambert has proffered good reasons to see the "Hammurapi Genealogy" as an exorcism, or at least a document for use in an exorcism. The background is the belief that if the dead were not properly buried, they might return as ghosts to trouble the living. To placate them, it was prudent to offer them food and drink. The central concern of the list appears to be with dead rulers and the retainers of the king. They, perhaps, could do the king greater harm than anyone else.⁹¹ This develops in a specific direction Finkelstein's suggestion that it was a memorial for the unknown dead, and a special food distribution to the dead, associated or identical with the *kispum* ceremony.⁹² It should be borne in mind that Finkelstein himself presented many of his views as being tentative. However, as always, there is a tendency for unchallenged speculations to become treated as something more concrete than they were intended.⁹³

In his article, Finkelstein unfortunately does not mention whether the tablet has holes or is otherwise formed for display and reference. An exami-

⁸⁸ Mayer observes that the names are not identical, but thinks them sufficiently similar to put the "Šamši-Adad" thesis beyond real doubt. W. Mayer, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 26.

⁸⁹ Robert R. Wilson, "Old Testament Genealogies in Recent Research," *JBL*, 94 (1975), pp. 169-189, pp. 182-183.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁹¹ W.G. Lambert, *loc. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 1-2.

⁹² J.J. Finkelstein, "The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty," *JCS*, 20 (1966), pp. 95-118, pp. 114-116.

⁹³ To return to methodology, Brinkman notes that whereas Poebel had been cautious in his dating of a version of the AKL, "recent commentators have tended to become less reserved in their statements until AsKL has come to be designated simply as the oldest text of the Kinglist": see J.A. Brinkman, *loc. cit.* (n. 87), pp. 306-319, p. 314. Needless to say, Brinkman is dubious about this proposition.

nation of the photograph is not conclusive, but it appears to me to differ from the AKL in this respect. I do not think that one can conclude anything from this. The obverse of the tablet comprises what “looks like a roster of personal names”.⁹⁴ Finkelstein argued that the scribe has conflated two names into one, on three separate occasions, to produce the first three lines.⁹⁵ His premises are arguably circular.

Finkelstein proceeds largely upon the basis that one or other of the AKL or GHD scribes must have erred, and he disassembles the first three names of the GHD into six names in order to bring them into line with the names from the AKL. Charpin and Durand have considered the material, and offer an entirely different, and, it is suggested, more acceptable reconstruction. I cannot consider that in detail here, but refer the reader to their article.⁹⁶

Material now available from Mari strengthens the conclusion of the common Amorite link and Lambert’s hypothesis concerning the *kispu(m)* ceremony.⁹⁷ In this recently recovered ritual, probably to be dated from the time of Šamši-Adad, the offerings are made to:

- (a) Sargon and Naram-Sin;
- (b) the Hanaeans “Yaradi” and those from Numha; and
- (c) various others.

As Charpin and Durand note, the similarities to the GHD are startling, being the proper names of kings, and then the names of tribes.⁹⁸

It is worth considering, at this point, the naming of kings. “Naming” has been defined as “the process by which words become names by association”.⁹⁹ As Annemarie Schimmel has said of Islamic names:

“Names are surrounded by a taboo; they carry *baraka*, blessing power, but can also be used for magic. Everywhere one finds that by calling a child by the name of a saint or a hero... parents hope to transfer some of the noble qualities... of their patron to the child, and thus to make him participate in the patron’s greatness. To change one’s name means indeed to change one’s identity...”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ J.J. Finkelstein, *loc. cit.* (n. 92), p. 95.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁹⁶ D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand, “Fils de Sim’al,” *RA*, 80 (1986), pp. 141-183, p. 161 and n.92.

⁹⁷ See M. Birot, “Fragment de rituel de Mari relatif au *Kispum*,” *Death in Mesopotamia*, ed. B. Alster; Copenhagen 1980, pp. 139-150.

⁹⁸ D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand, *loc. cit.* (n. 96), p. 165.

⁹⁹ See W.F.H. Nicolaisen, “Names as Verbal Icons,” *Names and their Varieties: A Collection of Essays in Onomastics*, Compiled by Kelsie B. Harder, Maryland 1986, pp. 246-252, p. 246.

¹⁰⁰ A. Schimmel, *Islamic Names*, Edinburgh 1995, p.ix.

Schimmel states that among the Arabs, a boy was frequently named after his grandfather, and that heroes of the faith or of early Islamic history were often flattered by the usage of their names.¹⁰¹

This accords with Nicolaisen's conclusions that when words become names there is a semantic change in the words' use. The names then reflect at least three levels of meaning:

- (a) the lexical level i.e. the words' dictionary meaning
- (b) the associative level i.e. the reason(s) why the particular lexical or onomastic items were used in the naming process
- (c) the onomastic level i.e. its use as a name, or "its application based on lexical and associative semantic elements, but usually no longer dependent on them".¹⁰²

I suspect that the ideas which Schimmel notes among the Arabs are reflected in the naming of at least some Assyrian kings.¹⁰³ To use Nicolaisen's schema, the lexical level has become understood and is not determinative of the use of a name. It is now the onomastic level, and to an extent the associative, which dominate.

In support of this, one might note the following "clusters" of names in Assyrian history: according to Brinkman's numbering, kings 56 to 59 of Assyria were Erišu III, Šamši-Adad II, Išme-Dagan II and Šamši-Adad III respectively. For the reasons given above, I agree with Yamada that the father of Šamši-Adad III, whose name is given in the list as Išme-Dagan, was not the king of that name. Thus, we have Kidin-Ninua naming sons: Šarma-Adad, Erišu and Išme-Dagan. Erišu has a son whom he names Šamši-Adad, and this Šamši-Adad names one of his sons Išme-Dagan. Kidin-Ninua's son Išme-Dagan names one of his sons Šamši-Adad. Such a cluster of names from this period of early Assyrian history can hardly be a coincidence. It is also interesting that an Erišu should be named in company with others from the house which overthrew his namesake, and that he should name a son Šamši-Adad.

That a ruler in one of the darkest periods of Assyrian history should wish to attract some of "the noble qualities... of their patron to the child, and thus to make him participate in the patron's greatness" is understandable. Schimmel's comments on Islamic concepts are apt for this cluster of names, the emphasis is on attracting desirable qualities. In this culture, it does not

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17.

¹⁰² W.F.H. Nicolaisen, *loc. cit.* (n.99), p. 246.

¹⁰³ However, there is little solid data. Esarhaddon's name is quite possibly a throne name, but despite Stamm's views, there is simply no proof, and without proof, it is a question of construction. See J.J. Stamm, *Die Akkadische Namengebung*, Darmstadt 1968, p. 11.

seem to be thought that unfortunate consequences could be attracted by naming if there is an auspicious meaning.¹⁰⁴

Later, another ruler takes the name Šamši-Adad. This man, the fourth of that name, had come up from Babylon and deposed the previous ruler (as had his first namesake). His son is Aššur-nasir-pal, and his son is Shalmaneser. Later, another Aššur-nasir-pal has a son whom he names Shalmaneser: his grandson is a Šamši-Adad.¹⁰⁵ Less than two hundred years separate these last clusters.

Many questions arise: were these throne names taken by acceding rulers exercising some propagandistic or ideological point? If so, to whom were they addressing this? Were these names given by the rulers' parents, or in consultation with someone else at the point of birth? Was there one means of naming only? Could some of the names have been throne names and others not? How many sons did these rulers have, and was their naming dependant upon whether they were expected to achieve the throne?

If some only of these names were throne names, then I would suggest that the similarities in the career of Šamši-Adad I and the fourth of that name are so great that one can only assume that the fourth took that name on overthrowing Eriba-Adad II. If it was a throne name, then it would not be so much a case of taking on a new identity by using that name, but rather of justifying one's actions by reference to a glorious precedent. However, I concede that this is speculative.

One can conclude that care must be taken in making extrapolations from the use of names. That names were significant to the Assyrian monarchs is, I think, indisputable. But we do not understand how the names were given: for example, did each king take a throne name, or on accession did they retain the name given at birth? Which name was bestowed in which fashion is hard, if not impossible, to say.

The difficulty is that the more we look at Mesopotamian history, the more we have the impression, almost the intuition, that names were important. Thus Oppenheim says of Assyria during the Mitannian ascendancy: "Although Assyria apparently disappeared under foreign domination, it is worthy of note that the official king list, which alone spans the gap in the historical tradition with its string of names, mentions six rulers who called themselves either Šamši-Adad (three kings) or Išme-Dagan (again three kings)... There exists no better indicator for the importance of a ruler and his political and military program than the choice of such

¹⁰⁴ One might wonder whether naming children after people who had feuded would really be auspicious.

¹⁰⁵ J.A. Brinkman, in L. Oppenheim, *op. cit.* (n. 36), pp. 345-346.

names.”¹⁰⁶ But he offers no evidence for this; and in a way, there can be none. It is not the sort of matter one would have reduced to writing by any civilization before the Classical Greek age or own, ages so full of self-referring analysis. In any event, I am not aware of any Mesopotamian text in which one finds explicit comments about the choice of names and why they are made.

If one accepts the arguments presented here for redating the AKL, the royal ideologies of both Šamši-Adad I and Aššur-nasir-pal I look richer and more interesting. No longer does it appear that Šamši-Adad I improperly claimed legitimation through the AKL: rather, it was the later Assyrians who sought a tincture of legitimacy from him.

¹⁰⁶ L. Oppenheim, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 165.

THE CANAANITE SYLLABARY

BY

BRIAN E. COLLESS

When George E. Mendenhall published his decipherment of what are commonly called Byblian “pseudo-hieroglyphic” inscriptions (*The Syllabic Texts from Byblos*, 1985), he spoke of “the Byblos syllabary” and “Byblos syllabic characters”. In my own series of studies on these writings (entitled “The Syllabic Inscriptions of Byblos”), I have dubbed this script “the Gublaic syllabary”, using the Semitic name of the city (Gubla) rather than its Greek name (Byblos). However, the question now needs to be asked whether this writing system was exclusive to Byblos.

That the Gublaic syllabic script is closely related to the Canaanite proto-alphabet is accepted by Mendenhall and myself, and proto-alphabetic inscriptions have been found not only in Canaan but also in Sinai and Egypt. The list of texts presented below indicates that the syllabic script was in fact employed elsewhere in Canaan (Megiddo), as also in Sinai (in the same turquoise-mining region as the proto-alphabet), in Egypt (in the Delta and at Thebes), and possibly even in Italy. It is no longer possible to say that the syllabary was used only in Byblos, while the Canaanite proto-alphabet (also known as the Proto-Canaanite alphabet) was used everywhere else. Note, however, that the proto-alphabet has not yet been attested at Byblos, only the Phoenician alphabet (that is, the Phoenician version of the Canaanite linear alphabet).

In the light of all this, are we justified in calling this system the Byblian or Gublaic syllabary? It may well be true that it was invented in Bronze Age Gubla, though this can not be demonstrated. Analogously, Ugarit used a cuneiform alphabet for writing its own West Semitic language, and this system was possibly devised in Ugarit. However, it turns up elsewhere in Syria-Palestine and beyond, in modified form. It would therefore seem appropriate to label this script “the West Semitic cuneiform alphabet”; but it would be more convenient to identify it as “the Canaanite cuneiform alphabet” (although Ugarit was not strictly a part of Canaan). Similarly we should speak of “the Canaanite syllabary”, even if the main “pseudo-hieroglyphic” inscriptions come from Byblos.

Note that this article is part of a series (*Abr-Nahrain* XXX-XXXIV, 1992-1996) and so the history and bibliography of this subject will not be repeated here; the reader should refer to the previous articles for details. Of the numerous critical reviews of Mendenhall's book, the most useful is that of Giovanni Garbini (*Rivista di studi fenici* 16, 1988, 129-131), because it focuses on specific difficulties in the decipherment; a response will be made to Garbini here, in the sections on the script and language of the documents.

Canaanite Syllabic Texts

The inventory of texts known to me comprises about twenty inscriptions, most of which have been studied already.

Gubla D (bronze tablet): *Abr-N* 31 (1993) 1-35.

Gubla C (bronze tablet): *Abr-N* 32 (1994) 59-72.

Gubla B (bronze spatula): *Abr-N* 33 (1995) 18-21.

Gubla E (bronze spatula): *Abr-N* 33 (1995) 21-22.

Gubla F (bronze spatula): *Abr-N* 33 (1995) 22-23.

Gubla I (bronze spatula): *Abr-N* 33 (1995) 23-28.

Gubla K (bronze spatula): *Abr-N* 33 (1995) 17-18.

Gubla A (broken stela): *Abr-N* 32 (1994) 72-78.

Gubla G (stela fragment): *Abr-N* 34 (1996) 42-43.

Gubla H (stela fragment): *Abr-N* 34 (1996) 43.

Gubla J (stela fragment): *Abr-N* 34 (1996) 43-44.

Gubla L (stela fragment): *Abr-N* 34 (1996) 44-45.

Scaraboid Seal: see below.

Megiddo Ring (gold signet): *Abr-N* 34 (1996) 45-46 (see below).

Sinai 526 (rock graffito): *Abr-N* 34 (1996) 47-48.

Egypt Lamp 1 (spherical): *Abr-N* 34 (1996) 50-52.

Egypt Lamp 2 (oval): *Abr-N* 34 (1996) 52-53.

Egypt Lamp 3 (circular): *Abr-N* 34 (1996) 54-55.

Thebes Ostrakon (limestone): *Abr-N* 34 (1996) 48-50 (see below).

Trieste Plaque (clay tablet): see below.

Other documents could be nominated for a place in the list (an inscribed simian sculpture from the Delta of Egypt, and two clay fragments from Rieti in Italy), but these will suffice for now. The additional Bronze Age texts to be considered here are a scaraboid seal of unknown provenance, and a clay tablet from Trieste in northern Italy. The gold signet ring from Megiddo and the limestone ostrakon from Thebes will be reconsidered.

SCARABOID SEAL

Description: G. R. Driver included this “scaraboid seal” in his collection of “early inscribed objects” (*Semitic Writing*, London, 1954, 102, citing A. A. Zakharov, *Archiv Orientalni*, VII, 36, and Th. H. Gaster, *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, LXIX, 1937, 57-58). Driver states that “its exact provenience is unknown but is vaguely said to be Asia Minor”.

Depiction: Zakharov, plate 6 no 7; Driver, 102, fig. 51.



Interpretation: Driver suggests that the legend on the seal is written “in a form of the North-Semitic alphabet”. He sets it beside the Megiddo ring (which he acknowledges as having affinities with “the Old-Byblian texts”), and in my view both inscriptions use the Canaanite syllabic script.

Reading from right to left, the first sign is recognizable as *la* (the Egyptian symbol for night); the second is a stylized bee, *nu*; the third is a snake, *na*; the fourth is *ša* in a vertical stance; the fifth seems to be simply *tu*, a cross.

la nu na ša tu

If *la* is a preposition (“to, for, belonging to”), then *nuna* might be a personal name, and *šatu* a title, “lady” (Ugaritic *št*, also found in Sinai proto-alphabetic inscriptions 369 and 374):

“Belonging to the Lady Nuna”.

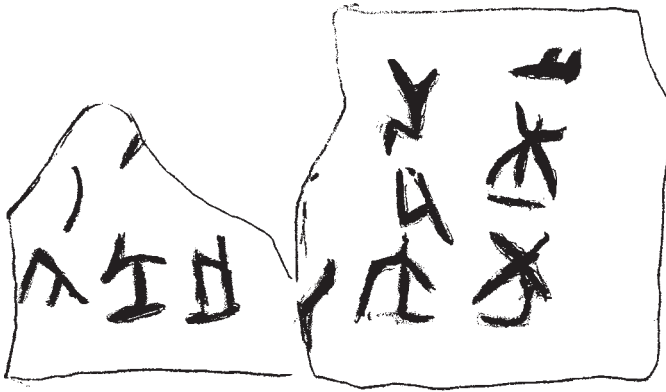
However, there is a problem of grammatical agreement: *šatu* should strictly be *šati*, genitive case after the preposition.

TRIESTE PLAQUE

Description: An inscribed clay tablet discovered in a cave near Trieste in northern Italy; approximately 10 cm by 5 cm when complete; two substantial pieces are extant (Fausto Gnesotto, *Una tavoletta con segni grafici ignoti dal Carso Triestino*, *Kadmos*, 12, 1973, 83-92). Garbini noticed that the unknown signs had counterparts in the Byblian pseudo-hieroglyphic

inventory, and that the underlining of some of the characters was a feature of Cypro-Minoan writing. Incidentally, Garbini published two pieces of an inscribed clay object from a Bronze Age site in central Italy (Rieti), with four marks that might belong to the Canaanite syllabary (G. Garbini, *Scrittura fenicia nell'età del Bronzo dell'Italia centrale*, *La Parola del Passato*, 225, 1985, 446-451).

Depiction: Gnesotto, plate 1 (photograph), fig. 2 (drawing).



Interpretation: A case can be made for identifying the dozen remaining characters on the plaque as belonging to the Canaanite syllabary. If we divide the text into three horizontal lines, reading from right to left we have the following result:

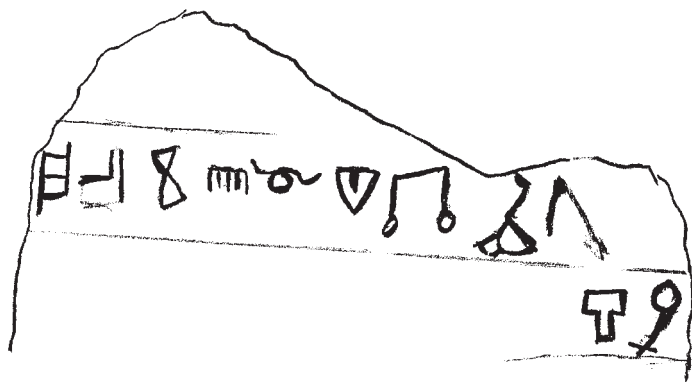
(1) *di yi...* (2) *bi ra... ni* (3) *ku ta na da pa nu*

The sequence *ku ta na* invites comparison with Ugaritic *ktn*, Hebrew *kutonet*, Greek *khitōn*, Latin *tunica*, “tunic”. However, it is not possible to determine whether the language of the text is Semitic.

THEBES OSTRAKON

Description: One of six ostraka of unknown provenance, acquired by Flinders Petrie from a dealer in Qurneh (Thebes). The other five are proto-alphabetic, and one of them is actually a copy of the proto-alphabet, in my view.

Depiction: W. F. Petrie, *The Formation of the Alphabet* (London 1912), frontispiece (note that the photograph is upside down).



Interpretation:

(1) *da hu wi ḥa ši du ta ru ga* (2) *mi ṭa*

In my previous reading of this inscription I was only able to offer a suggestion for the first half of the text, which I assumed to be running boustrophedon from the left side. I now think that the last character on the top line is a simple angle (*ga*, boomerang) rather than a harp (*ti*); and the last character on the right side is not just a circle with a stem (*wu*) but there may be a small crossbar, making it *ṭa*. Line 2 will now be tried as a continuation of line 1, but not boustrophedon. Four of the pictograms will be interpreted as logograms rather than syllabograms.

(1) *da(ltu)-hu wi(ru) ḥašidu taruga* (2) *mi(zbaḥu) ṭa(bu)*

There is no exact counterpart in the Gubla inscriptions for the seventh sign (*ta?*), which is a baseless square with two nodules; perhaps these appendages represent grapes, Arabic *ʿinab*, Hebrew *ʿenab*, but Ugaritic *ḡnb*. No *ḡ* signs have been detected in the Gubla texts, but there is already a character for *i* (eyelid), which occurs frequently in Gubla text D. On the other hand, my understanding of *ta* is a framework for a vine (Egyptian hieroglyph M43, denoting “vine” or “wine”), hence **tarašu* (“wine”), and the presumed grapes on the character under discussion could support this, making *tallu* (Old Akkadian word for a doorframe or part thereof) a less likely possibility.

The proposal for the first half is: “its door is solid copper” (cp. Josephus, *Jewish War*, 5.5.3, describing a gate of “Corinthian brass” in the Jerusalem Temple). What, we may ask, is the edifice which has this splendid portal? Is it a temple (the Ramesseum?), a tomb (in the Valley of Kings?), or the city (Thebes?). If we read *iru* then “city” is the answer (cp. Hebrew and Ugaritic). The name of the city might then be sought in the remaining

three letters: *ga mi ʔa* or *ga ʔa mi*. However, reading the sequence as *ta ru ga mi ʔa*, we see the root *rgm*, betokening “speech”, and “translation” (*targum*); or else we can invoke the idea of heaping up stones for *rgm* (Arabic, Hebrew), perhaps in order to make “a fine altar” (construing the last two signs as logograms). Taking *taruga* as a unit, we may compare Jewish Aramaic *tarōgā*’ and Mishnaic Hebrew *’etrōg*, “citron, orange”, and *hitrig*, “make orange-coloured/bright”. The result seems ungrammatical (*mizbaḥu* is feminine, and so the logogram *ʔabu* should have a phonetic complement to make it agree with the noun; and the first line has three nominative cases and an accusative case), but it may tentatively be rendered thus:

“Its door is solid copper, orange, (with) a fine altar”

MEGIDDO RING

Description: A gold ring inscribed with one line of writing, found in a Late Bronze Age tomb at Megiddo.

Depiction: Drawing in G. R. Driver, *Semitic Writing* (London, 1954) 102, as below.



Interpretation: See the discussion in the previous article in this series. There are two statements, separated by a vertical stroke. The first reads *nuḥu-ta-ma*, “sealed”. The word is a Niqtal (or Nuqtal?) participle, corresponding to Hebrew *neḥtam* a millennium later: “sealed with the King’s ring” (Esther 3:12). There may be a dead vowel or two, perhaps reducing the word to *nuḥtam*.

My reading of the second unit runs: *šubtu ša ma-ga-du-da*, “The Sceptre of Megiddo”. The signs for Megiddo are fairly clear: the sickle *ma*, the boomerang *ga*, the jar *du* (a triangle standing on its apex), and the door *da* (on the second line with the decorative marks). *Magadū* is attested alongside *Magidū* in Assyrian transcription, but the name is *Məgiddō* in Hebrew, and *Magidda* in Canaanite cuneiform tablets from Amarna; but perhaps the boomerang (*gamlu*) is really *gi* (as in Gimel, the name of the Hebrew letter G). Many other uncertainties remain in the identification of the signs in the syllabary.

	CANAANITE SYLLABARY	EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHS	ALPHABET
ʾ	ʾa 𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃 ʾalpu ox ʾi 𐤄 𐤅 𐤆 ʾiratu breast ʾu 𐤇 𐤈 𐤉 ʾuznu ear	𐦎 F1 𐦏 D 27	𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃
B	ba 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃 baytu house bi 𐤄 𐤅 bikītu weeping bu 𐤆 𐤇 𐤈 bunduru reed	𐦏 01 𐦐 D9 𐦑 M17	𐤁 𐤂 𐤃
G	ga 𐤀 𐤁 gamlu boomerang gi 𐤇 𐤈 𐤉 gupnu vine da 𐤄 𐤅 𐤆 𐤇 daltu door di 𐤈 𐤉 𐤊 𐤋 𐤌 𐤍 𐤎 𐤏 𐤐 𐤑 𐤒 𐤓 𐤔 𐤕 𐤖 𐤗 𐤘 𐤙 𐤚 𐤛 𐤜 𐤝 𐤞 𐤟 𐤠 𐤡 𐤢 𐤣 𐤤 𐤥 𐤦 𐤧 𐤨 𐤩 𐤪 𐤫 𐤬 𐤭 𐤮 𐤯 𐤰 𐤱 𐤲 𐤳 𐤴 𐤵 𐤶 𐤷 𐤸 𐤹 𐤺 𐤻 𐤼 𐤽 𐤾 𐤿	𐦒 T14 𐦓 M43 𐦔 031	𐤁 𐤂 𐤃
D	du 𐤄 𐤅 𐤆 dūdu jar	𐦕 W1,2	𐤁 𐤂 𐤃
H	ha 𐤀 𐤁 haykalu temple hi 𐤄 𐤅 𐤆 hillulu jubilation hu 𐤇 𐤈 hudumu footstool	𐦕 015 𐦕 A28	𐤁 𐤂 𐤃
W	wa 𐤀 𐤁 wawu hook wi 𐤄 𐤅 wiru copper wu 𐤇 𐤈	𐦕 N34A 𐦕 Z7	𐤁 𐤂 𐤃
Z	za 𐤀 𐤁 zanabu tail zi 𐤄 𐤅 ziqquratu ziggurat, pyramid zu 𐤇 𐤈 zurutu arm	𐦕 F27 𐦕 024 𐦕 D36	𐤁 𐤂 𐤃
H	ha 𐤀 𐤁 hazizu rain-storm hi 𐤄 𐤅 hiwatu life hu 𐤇 𐤈 hudšu new moon	𐦕 N4 𐦕 S34 𐦕 N9	𐤁 𐤂 𐤃
H	ta 𐤀 𐤁 tābu good ti 𐤄 𐤅 tipsaru scribe tu 𐤇 𐤈 turru knot	𐦕 V28 𐦕 F35 𐦕 R20	𐤁 𐤂 𐤃
Y	ya 𐤀 𐤁 yahidu united yi 𐤄 𐤅 yimnu right hand yu 𐤇 𐤈	𐦕 V12 𐦕 S23	𐤁 𐤂 𐤃
K	ka 𐤀 𐤁 kappu hand (wing) ki 𐤄 𐤅 kippatu palm ku 𐤇 𐤈	𐦕 D48 𐦕 Z9 𐦕 N2	𐤁 𐤂 𐤃
L	la 𐤀 𐤁 laylu night li 𐤄 𐤅 lu 𐤇 𐤈 lubnu white	𐦕 Q4 𐦕 D14	𐤁 𐤂 𐤃

CANAANITE SYLLABARY				EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHS	ALPHABET
M	m				
	ma		maggālu sickle		
	mi		mizbahu altar		
	mi		miṭru rain		
	mu		mu water		
	mu		mulku kingship		
N	na		naḥašu snake		
	ni		nighatu tusk		
	nu		nūbtu bee		
S	sa		samaku support		
	si		sim'alu left hand		
	su		sukkatu booth		
'	'a		'aynu eye		
	'i		'ipipu eyelid		
	'u		'uṣru ten, tithe		
P	pa		panu face		
	pi		pilakku spindle whorl		
	pu		mouth		
š	ša		bag		
	ši				
	šu				
Q	qa				
	qi				
	qu				
R	ra		ra'išu head		
	ri		riglu leg		
	ru		ruḥamu vulture		
	ru		ruḥamu vulture		
š	ša		šādu breast		
	ši		šimšu sun		
	šu		šubtu rod, sceptre		
T	ta		tarašu wine		
	ti		tibbuttu harp		
	tu		signature		

The Canaanite Syllabic Script

At this point an attempt will be made to describe the features of the syllabic script of Canaan, comparing and contrasting it with contemporaneous systems. The account is according to my own understanding of the syllabary, and goes further than Mendenhall's in some of the details. Garbini has noted that Dunand presented a repertory of 114 signs, which might be reduced to about 90 if the difference between monumental and normal writing is taken into account; but he accuses Mendenhall of an unjustified reduction to little more than 60, in treating too many clearly distinct signs as identical. For my part, I feel that Mendenhall has wielded Occam's razor judiciously, and when we realize what each sign represents (*nu*, a bee, for example) the task of identifying variants is simplified. However, the exact phonetic value of each sign remains hypothetical, especially with characters identified as sibilants.

A complete signary of the script has not yet been compiled: for example, *gi* is lacking, and the suspicion is that *ga(mlu)* (boomerang) might be *gi(mlu)*, and consequently it would be *ga* that is missing, or possibly the same sign could stand for *ga* and *gi* alike. There are cases of more than one sign for the same syllable: *mizbaḥu* ("altar") and *miṭru* ("rain") for *mi*; *mu* ("water") and *mulku* ("kingship") for *mu*. For *ru* there are two versions of the vulture, one a complete picture and the other abbreviated, as in the original Egyptian hieroglyphs.

The Canaanite syllabary could be described as a *vocalic* script, in that it shows the vowels along with the consonants, as does the cuneiform syllabary of ancient Mesopotamia. It is not simply a consonantal script, and thus it is quite unlike Egyptian hieroglyphic writing, which is a complex consonantal script, where no vowels are indicated, and where one sign can represent one consonant, or even two or more consonants simultaneously; Egyptian hieroglyphs exist for words with one, two, or three consonants, and these can stand for any word which has that particular combination of consonants, irrespective of the vowels; thus the character for "house", *pr*, can also function as *pr*, "go". By the same token, the Canaanite syllabary is also unlike the Canaanite consonantal script, the proto-alphabet, where each sign represents one consonant, and the vowels are disregarded when recording speech.

Nevertheless, although the Canaanite syllabic script differs from these two writing systems, it is in a sense intermediate between them. On the one side, it uses Egyptian hieroglyphs for its characters, wherever feasible. It is difficult to find a clear Egyptian origin for some of the signs (such as *'u*, *di*,

hu, wa, yi, ki, si, 'i, ti, tu), but the abstract symbols for “life” and “good”, which represent *hi* and *ta* respectively, are certainly borrowed Egyptian hieroglyphs, though each is modified slightly because of their close resemblance. Equally distinguishable as Egyptian are the “night” hieroglyph, functioning as *la*, the “support” (djed pillar, spinal column) as *sa*, and the “unity” symbol as *ya*. On the other side, the majority (at least two-thirds) of the signs in the proto-alphabet have a counterpart in the syllabary; for example, the sign for a house (*baytu*) denotes *ba* in the vocalic syllabary, and *b* in the consonantal proto-alphabet. Almost all of the signs in this script can be related to Egyptian hieroglyphs, including the *nfr* (“good”) symbol, Semitic *ṭabu*.

The Canaanite syllabary is a simple monosyllabic script, with a much smaller signary than Egyptian hieroglyphic writing or Babylonian cuneiform writing, both of which have hundreds of characters. It is even more compact than the Aegean scripts, in having only three vowels represented, instead of five; these are *a, i, u*, as in Arabic; but possibly the true arrangement is *a, i/e, u/o*. It has open syllables only (CV, consonant plus vowel); apparently there are no cases of closed syllables (CVC), though one sign seems to indicate *-m*, mimation.

This script is inordinately simple, since it can not indicate long vowels. For example, in a hypothetical *ba-bu* each of the vowels could be long or short, assuming that vowel length is a feature of the language; or the *u* could be a dead vowel, with the signs representing a closed syllable, *bab* or *bāb*. Moreover, the combination could be read as *babbu*, on the analogy of *ki-ti* apparently standing for *kitti* “truth” (in D 2, for example), and *ti-sa-ki-ru* for *tisakkiru* “hand over” (D-stem, in D 12). Nevertheless there is one instance where gemination seems to be indicated: *'i-li-la* for *'illa* “pact” (D 11, 14).

Here we see the practice of open syllable orthography with synharmony (also known in Aegean syllabaries such as Linear B, in documents from Ebla, in Japanese writing, and in Maya glyphic texts). The dead vowel is normally the same as the vowel in an adjacent syllable (synharmonic), but this may not always be the case. Another possible example is *ha-ki-mi-'u* for *hakmi'u* (D 11-12: *'illa hakmi'u*, “they make the covenant binding”). The sequence *ši-li-ta-ti-ya*, “my rule” (genitive case) might be resolved as *šiltatiya* (cp. Arabic *sulṭat*) or *šlītatiya* (cp. Hebrew *šlītāh*). Then there is the case of *zu ma la ki mu* (D 34): *malaki* could be *malki* (“of the king”); *zu* might be a demonstrative pronoun (“that of the king”), or else it is a logogram representing the whole word portrayed by the pictograph (an arm), namely *zuru'u* (“the arm of the king”); the *mu* is the Egyptian symbol for kingship

(*mulku*), and might here be a determinative sign (a semantic determiner), an ideogram rather than a phonogram.

Hence, like the Sumero-Akkadian script, the Canaanite system is not a pure syllabary; it is a *logo-syllabary*, such that a sign can stand for the word it represents as well as a syllable. The monosyllable in each case is the first syllable of the word, by the principle of acrophony, which does not apply in cuneiform writing. Each sign has only one value: the Canaanite signs do not share the multivalence of the Mesopotamian cuneiform characters. The two Canaanite scripts fit the category *logo-syllabary*, because the signs of the syllabary and of the proto-alphabet can function logographically as entire words, and also acrophonically as monosyllables. However, in each case only the phonograms of the inventory can be used as logograms. (By contrast, Eblaic cuneiform writing uses a wide range of Sumerian logograms for the Semitic words of the Eblaic language.) Consequently, in reading a Canaanite syllabic text, every sign must be tested to determine whether it denotes the whole word or its initial syllable only. The same principle applies to the consonantal pictographs of proto-alphabetic inscriptions.

Other examples of possible logograms are found in my reading of Gubla text D, notably in D 19-21 and D 31-34; but we may conveniently cite from two inscriptions examined here: *šubtu* “sceptre” on the Megiddo ring; and in my proposed interpretation of the Thebes ostrakon, *daltu* “door”, *wiru* “copper”, *mizbaḥu* “altar”, *tabu* “good”. Where a noun is in an oblique case a phonetic complement may be provided: *ba-ḥi-ti* (C 2, C 15) seems to mean “in life” (logogram **ḥiwatu* with phonetic complement *ti* to show the genitive case).

The Gublaic Language

In his preface to his decipherment Mendenhall declares that the language of the Gublaic texts is the common ancestor of Arabic and Hebrew. (Certainly we can use dictionaries of Hebrew, Arabic, and Old South Arabic to assist us in interpreting these inscriptions.) However, Garbini (in his review, cited above) asserts that what Mendenhall offers is an impossible language. Garbini then presents a number of examples of apparent aberrations. In the following reply to Garbini, various features of the language will be discussed.

Pronouns

Garbini cites an anomaly in the apparent existence of a pronominal suffix *-ku* alongside *-ka*, for the 2nd p. m. singular. The syllable *ku* occurs in

Mendenhall's reading at the end of A 5 (though the left-hand side of the stela is broken off, and the original length of the lines is not known): *ša qa ta ku*. The *qa* should be *du* (the sign is an unguent jar, *dudu*), and my reading is *šaduta*, "income" (Akkadian *šaduttu*). The supposed *ku* is damaged and could be 'a, for example; if it is in fact *ku*, it might be followed by *m*, and *-kum* would be 2 m. plural ("your income"). Note that a sequence 'a tu m appears in A 6 and A 9, which is possibly the 2 m. plural independent pronoun, corresponding to Ugaritic 'atm and Hebrew 'attem.

In another connection, Garbini finds fault with Mendenhall's understanding of A 7: *pa-wiṭubum 'uhaminata na'imaka* ("your dwelling eternal and glorious"). First, there are two adjectives with the accusative ending *-a*, which are apparently qualifying a noun in the nominative case, *-um*. Secondly, the pronoun suffix *-ka* is attached to an adjective and not to the noun. The problem with the noun is easily solved: Mendenhall has overlooked a small *ta* which has been written above the *m*, and this produces a word in the accusative case, *wiṣubutam*, which appears in its nominative form *wiṣubutum* in A 9, and has a possible cognate in Akkadian *waššābūtum*, meaning "rental". My reading for the remainder of the line is: 'u ha mi na ta ru wu ma ka wa.... The sequence *ta ru wu ma* is reminiscent of Hebrew *trūmāh*, "contribution". As for *ka*, it could be the pronoun suffix "your", or else *ka wa* is part of the verb "be", appearing as *kawana* in A 10.

Instances of pronominal *-ka* are not obvious in the main texts (D, C, A), but in the barely legible spatula I there is a recurring sequence *ra ḥu mu ka* (I 3, I 5), which might mean "your beloved", perhaps referring to the god Tammuz (possibly appearing as *ta-m-[zu]* in line 3).

Garbini remarks on the existence of a mysterious verbal suffix *-ni*, but this seems to be simply the 1st p. sg. suffix, "me" (accusative) and also "to me" (dative). This matter was discussed in connection with the opening statement of text D (1b-2a): 'i 'a tu 'u | ni ma ta ti la ki ti, "I cause the lands to come to me, to the truth". Other selected examples are: *bi ha'ilali-ni*, "in joining me" (D 3a); *tisataru-ni taḥima*, "they shall guard the border for me" (D 3b-4a, cp. D 23-24 and D 26-27); *tisakiru-ni*, "they shall hand over to me" (D 12). The 1. p. s. suffix for nouns is *-i*, (nominative case), with *-ya* for accusative and genitive: *niniti*, "my daughter" (C 1); *šilitatiya*, "of my dominion" (D 11, D 13). The 1st p. plural is apparently *-nu*, as in *banu*, "among us" (D 5), *yalanu*, "our allies" (?) (D 14).

With regard to other pronouns in the texts, the third person has initial *h* rather than *š* (Akkadian). A reversal of the two signs *hi ya* in D 4 (*mu la ki hi ya ma*) produces *hima*, "they" (Ugaritic *hm*, Hebrew *hēmmāh*), and removes an intrusive syllable *hi* in the preceding word *mulakiya*, "of my em-

pire". The suffixed pronoun seems to be *humu*, in *binihumu*, "between them" (?) or "their sons" (?) (C 6, C 10). The sequence *bi ma li ha m* (C 5) seems to mean "in her fulness", and so *-ha* is the feminine suffix (here with mimation in pause?). The masculine counterpart is *-hu*. It is found attached to prepositions, nouns, and verbs: *lahu*, "to him" (D 9); *li'imuhu* (nominative case) "his people(s)" (D 12), *bayitahu* (accusative case) "his house" (C 4), *ba'atihu* (genitive case) "in its season" (D 34); *'ibaligu-hu* (C 12), meaning uncertain ("I make him smile?").

Verbs

Garbini states that the causative-reflexive appears in three ways:

yutuha'ihidu ('*hd*) (D 3, D 23)

yatasa'ubudu ('*bd*) (C 7)

yitusapuliyi (*ply*) (F 2-3)

In the first example Garbini has transcribed the first syllable incorrectly: it is *ya*, not *yu*. Accordingly we have the same vowel (*a*) in the first two instances. Incidentally, a sign for *yu* is lacking in the texts; Mendenhall proposes *yu* for one of the hand signs, but I would identify it as *ši* (*sim'alu*, left hand). The form *yatuha'ihidu* seems anomalous: in Ugaritic and Arabic the reflexive infix *t* would come after the first radical. However, if the language of the Gublaic texts is indeed the precursor of Phoenician and Hebrew, then this form is comparable with the Hitqattel, of which the imperfect is *yitqattel*, where the causative *h* has been dropped, but it remains intact here in *yatuha'ihidu*. The word makes good sense in its covenanting context ("they pledge themselves"). Incidentally, a possible example of the Hitqattel perfect appears in spatula B 5: *hitakapila* (although Mendenhall has *nu* for *hi*), and this is another "pledge" word (Arabic *kfl*, "vouch, be surety").

With regard to *yitusapuliyi* in F 2-3, we must remember that the five spatulas are puzzling documents, and F has metal corrosion and some eccentric characters (as Mendenhall notes). The reading *yitusapuliyi* is not certain, and I cannot accept the root as *ply*, since I take the circle sign to be *ši* (sun), not *pu* (mouth). In F 7 the sequence is *yitušili*, followed by *tayimi*, which may be a personal name; and it may be wise to accept the same reading in F 2-3, where the alleged *sa* occurs underneath the *tu*. What *yitušili* could be is beyond my present knowledge, but the problem word *yitusapuliyi* has vanished. We must be constantly alert to the possibility that some of the syllabic signs may be functioning as logograms. For example, *ši* could stand for *šimšu*, "the sun" or "the sun god".

Turning now to *yatasa'ubudu* in C 7: the meaning of the word escapes me ('*bd*, "serve", "do"), but it seems to be a reflexive causative verb, with *sa*

instead of *ha* (though *sa* could be a logogram, *samaku*, “support”). In this connection, Garbini points out with incredulity that the causative prefix appears at various points as *ha*, *sa*, or *ša*; and in verbal nouns as *ha* or *tu*.

Dealing first with *tu*, my reading for this sign is *šu*, from *šubtu* (sceptre), and this possibly alleviates the difficulty. Examples offered by Mendenhall are: *li-šutusalī-hu* (G 3), root *wsl*, “seek favour”; *šutusaru* (C 6), root *wasaru*; in each case the *w* is represented in the *u* after the reflexive *t*, and the supposed *tu* is explained by dissimilation with the syllable *sa*. This may well be so, but it is worth noting that *šu* can be found in place of *ša* in the Akkadian (Babylonian) Š-causative. However, text G is only a fragment of a stela, with no context for its sequences of monumental signs; and in text C, *šutusaru* could be interpreted as “prince Shutu”.

Strangely, there is only one example of a *ša* form offered by Mendenhall, and it should be dismissed: his reading *šašibu-ni* (A 6) is faulty, in seeing a hypothetical *ši* (incorrectly printed as *ši* in my own discussion of this point, it should be noted) instead of another clear *du* (unguent jar), which in other places he interprets as *qa*; but in all four occurrences I have suggested the reading *šadut-* (A 5, 6, 8, 9; see my discussion of his reading *ša qa ta ku*, in the section on pronouns), understood as meaning “harvest” or “income” (Akkadian *šaduttu*), in accord with the “stores” (*hisanim*) and “granaries” (*asamim*) mentioned in A 2. The sequence *šaduda*, found in D 33 (likewise apparently a harvesting context) and in C 12, may also be a form of *šaduttu*, though Mendenhall takes them as verbs from *šdd*, “ruin”.

An instance of *ha-* causative may be found in *’ilila hakimi’u* (*’illa hakmi’u*), “they have made the covenant binding” (D 11-12, discussed earlier); the root would be an unattested *km’* (“bind”), cognate with Akkadian *kamû*.

In his last sentence Garbini makes a veiled reference to Mendenhall’s discussion of his reading *yuhububata* (D 16, and also C 8); but my version is *siṭububata*, and this may be *siṭubba(ta)*, possibly a D stem with *s-* causative, from *ṭwb* (“be good”), like Akkadian *šutubb-*, “make good” (šD).

The fact that this language has both *sa-* and *ha-* causatives is not really a problem, since Aramaic has *ša-* alongside *ha-* or *’a*. In D 31-32 *habu’a* (“cause to come in”) and *sanubi* (“causing to flourish”) occur in the same sentence. A Hebrew example of the *š-* causative alongside *h-* causative might be found in Genesis 48:11-12 (Joseph and Jacob reunited): the *Hiqtil* of *r’h* (“see”) and *yš’* (“go out”) together with the *Hištaqel* of *ḥwh* (*wayištaḥu*, “and they bowed down”); this might also be understood as a *Hitqattel* of *šhw*, but the Ugaritic counterpart *tšṭḥwy* is presumably a *št* form.

One of the promising features of Mendenhall's decipherment was the emergence of the verb *kawana*, "be" (in texts D and A), and the derived noun *kittu*, "truth, justice" (in the genitive form *kiti*, D 2, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 40). Garbini finds the forms of this verb problematic: the perfect tense is *kawana* (3rd p. sg. m., D 15, A 10), while the imperfect is *'akawana* (1st p. sg.) and *takawana* (2nd p. pl.). Now it must be remembered that this is a simple syllabary, and *'akawana* could represent *'akawan* or *'akwan*, with no final vowel, as in Hebrew *'eqtol*. The word *takawana* occurs in D 9, and possibly in D 7 (*ta[ka]wana*); but in each instance the subject of the verb is not obvious, and it may be singular or plural, masculine or feminine. Moreover, in D 7-8 there is also a sequence *ka wa []*, possibly *kawanu* (3rd pl.?): and in D 30 *ka wa []* could be *kawata*, 3rd p. sg. fem. (*kawatt?*).

Be that as it may, it is a striking fact that text C has *kyn* instead of *kwn*, and the same variants are found in Old South Arabic, for example. Thus where A has *kawanatum* (A 10), C has *kayinatum* (C 2, 6, 10), apparently an adverbial participle or infinitive, meaning "constantly". And C has *'akayina* (C 3) and *takayina* (C 4), to compare or contrast with *'akawana* (D 21, 27) and *takawana* (D 7, 9).

With regard to *takawana*, we might ask why it is not *tikawana*. However, there is apparently an analogy in *tala[bi]sa-ni* (C 2). The appearance of *ti-* as a preformative in the 3rd p. m. pl. finds a parallel in Ugaritic practice; to such examples as *tisataru* (D 4) and *tisakiru* (D 12, possibly 3rd p. singular, cp. Eblaic), we may add *ti'ašu* (D14), "they make". The *y-* preformative is seen in *yatuha'ihidu* (D 23).

Prepositions

Garbini points out that Mendenhall posits an enclitic *-mi* besides the more usual *-ma*. Thus the opening words on stela A are: *ru tu mi bu hu ra*, which Mendenhall translates as "Dedication of Buhura". However, my rendering would be "Claim from Buhura", understanding the *mi* as the preposition *mi(n)*, "from", found in West Semitic and South Semitic. There may be other instances of this preposition at points where the syllable *mi* occurs (C 11, for example).

Other prepositions are *b* (*ba* or *bi*) "in", *l* (*la* or *li*) "to", and *tihata* "instead of" (D 25).

Conjunctions

The basic conjunction "and" is frequently expressed by enclitic *ma*, but it seems to refer forwards sometimes, and backwards at other times, and sometimes it seems simply to emphasize a word: *luḥisa+ma mura'a*, "the

whisperer and the evildoer" (D 12-13); *taḥawubu+ma taḥubam*, "and they incur the penalty" (D 38-39); *ba-biti+ma*, "and in life" (C 2); *ba-yili hararati takayina+ma bayitahu*, "with a cherished family may she establish his house" (C 4). The conjunction *pa* ("and so") is found attached to verbs (D 3, 7, 12, 23, 26; C 5, 8, 11) and also nouns (A 6, 7, 8, 9). But where is *wa*, the normal West Semitic coordinating conjunction? Perhaps some of the occurrences of *wu* and *wi* supply this lack; we find *wu ma* and *wi ma* in C 7, and *pa ma* in C 5; possibly 'u is "and", rather than "or", in some of its appearances; 'u *ma* in D 35 and D 37 may mean "either... or". In D 40 'ima might be the word for "if".

Nouns

Leaving aside the question of noun forms (*qutl* and so on), the patterns of inflexions will be examined. Bronze Age Gublaic apparently has the same case endings as Akkadian:

Singular: nominative *-u*, accusative *-a*, genitive *-i*

Plural: nominative *-u*, accusative/genitive *-i*

Presumably the plural vowels are long *u* and *i*, but the script does not show vowel length. Selected examples with masculine and feminine nouns: *'i'atu-ni matati la-kit(t)i*, "I have the lands come to me, to truth" (D 1-2); *pa-tisataru-ni taḥima mulakiya*, "and they shall guard for me the boundary of my kingdom" (D 3-4); *pa-tisak(k)iru-ni li'imū-hu luḥisa+ma mura'a muru'i šilitatiya*, "and his people(s) shall hand over to me the whisperer and the doer of evil of my dominion" (D 12-13). In the latter case it is hard to tell whether the subject noun *li'imū-hu* is singular or plural, because there is insufficient data to construct a full paradigm for verbs.

The language apparently does not have *-m* or *-n* as the plural ending for masculine nouns, in contrast to the Aḥiram inscription from Iron Age Byblos, which has *-m*, or Sinai proto-alphabetic inscriptions with *-m* or *-n*, or Ugaritic with *ūma*, *īma*, or Arabic with *ūna*, *īna*. It is not easy to cite clear examples of masculine plurals from the main texts, but the enigmatic bronze spatulas offer two possibilities: *sahidi*, "witnesses"? (B 6), *mapidi'i*, "redeemers"? (E 2). D has some participles: *hima muba'i*, "those brought in" (D 4-5), Hebrew *mūbā'im* (Genesis 43:18); *bawa'i-ni*, "coming to me" (?) (D 39). So masculine plurals apparently do not have mimation, as also in Old Akkadian, where masculine singular nouns have *-m* but not m. pl. nouns. Nevertheless, in the Canaanite syllabary there is a special *-m* sign for mimation, which occurs frequently in texts A and C (A 2, 3, 6, 7, 9; C 1, 2, 5, 6, 10, 11, 13; D 40). This might mean that the nouns *ḥisanim 'asamim*, "of stores, of granaries"? (A 2) are genitive singular with mimation, not accusa-

tive/genitive plural; but the text is broken, and this West Semitic language may have different rules. Notice that all the examples cited end in *-i*, except *li'imu-hu*, which is probably singular. Is this language simplifying the masculine plural to *-i* for all three cases?

Mimation is found on feminine plural nouns (*-ātum*) in Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian (up to the time of Hammurabi in the 17th century). However, the one clear instance of a fem. pl. noun (accusative case) lacks mimation: *matati*, "lands" (D 2). If Gublaic was in step with Akkadian, then this feature might assist in dating text D, but this is yet another question without an answer.

The Canaanite Syllabary Deciphered?

It is my contention that Mendenhall's decipherment must not be rejected out of hand but accepted critically and utilized constructively. In the history of the decipherment of ancient scripts it is rare to find one person succeeding alone and getting every detail right. In 1930, Hans Bauer, Edouard Dhorme, and Charles Virolleaud worked independently and rapidly on the newly discovered Ugaritic alphabetic cuneiform texts; but it was their combined results that produced a satisfactory solution, and this still needed further refinement. In the following year, 1931, Ignace J. Gelb and Emil Forrer separately reported the progress they had each made on decoding Hittite hieroglyphic writing, a long and laborious task; by 1942, seventy years after the first inscriptions had appeared, Gelb had published his third and definitive treatise, owing a great debt to P. Meriggi; in 1947 a bilingual key was found (Hittite Hieroglyphic and Phoenician), which provided verification.

At that time George E. Mendenhall began work on the Byblian texts; Dhorme had successfully cracked the cuneiform alphabet in 1930, but he was judged as having failed in his attempt at reading the Byblos syllabic texts, which had been discovered by M. Dunand in the same period as the Ugaritic tablets, and published by him in 1945. Mendenhall worked for thirty-seven years on this tiny set of nine inscriptions on copper plates and stone. He had no key, such as the Rosetta Stone for Egyptian hieroglyphs (with Greek and Egyptian texts, exploited by J.-F. Champollion), or the Sinai bilingual sphinx-statuettes for the proto-alphabet (with a brief Egyptian text, used by Alan Gardiner as a key to partial decipherment). But Mendenhall's solution found no verification, only vilification. His transcriptions and translations seemed very odd, requiring tortuous explanations. Yet the early renderings of the Ugaritic myths and legends look

strange at this distance, and a full understanding of the Ugaritic language has not yet been achieved. The cuneiform alphabetic script has certainly been deciphered, but the interpretation of the texts is still controversial. Similarly, the possibility exists that Mendenhall has substantially deciphered the Canaanite syllabary, but the interpretation of the inscriptions is still rudimentary. The general response to Mendenhall's work has been that his results do not feel right; his readings produce unusual types of documents, so different from other texts found on such materials as copper plates and stone stelae. However, metal plates were used for treaties, and text D appears to be a covenanting document. And where is the analogy for spatula-shaped metal plates for written records, to go with texts B, E, F, I, K? They all remain enigmatic (and K also has a puzzling Phoenician alphabetic inscription).

Verification of a decipherment can come in more than one way. Firstly, if the corpus of texts is large and varied, then the results may be self-authenticating (the proof of the pudding is in the eating), as with the Canaanite cuneiform alphabet (though eventually an incomplete broken tablet was found at Ugarit, giving Babylonian cuneiform syllabograms alongside the Canaanite letters, to show their pronunciation). Secondly, a bilingual text may appear, as happened for the Hittite hieroglyphic script. Thirdly, a "tripod" may be discovered, as with Aegean Linear B; after the solution of Michael Ventris and John Chadwick had been worked out, Carl Blegen applied it to some new clay tablets from Pylos; one of these had pictures of three-legged cauldrons, and the accompanying characters yielded *ti-ri-po-de*, Greek *tripodes*, "tripods"; other details on the tripod tablet confirmed even more signs.

What proof can we adduce for Mendenhall's system? In the first place, the number of available syllabic texts is perhaps sufficient for making attempts at decoding the script, but insufficient to make any results totally convincing (as is likewise the case with the Phaistos disk from Crete). Secondly, no bilingual text has come to light. However, my inventory of Canaanite syllabic texts has more than the Gublaic examples studied by Mendenhall, and these could be used to test the results obtained on the Gubla texts.

When I was given drawings of inscriptions on five terra-cotta artefacts from the Nile Delta, I thought I could read the first two letters on three of them as *ni ru*, which could mean "lamp", and in fact it was then I noticed that the copyist, Jonathan Dickson, had described these three objects as lamps. One of these was a sphere, inscribed with *ni-ru ga-li ta-bi*, apparently declaring it to be "a fine spherical lamp" ("a lamp of a good ball"?).

The problem is that the lamps were subjected to thermoluminescence dating and found to have been made (or fired again?) in recent years. They may be genuine, or at least good copies of originals, but their testimony is highly suspect, unfortunately.

Nevertheless, the gold ring from Megiddo, a city in Canaan and closer to Byblos, is very interesting. My own interpretation is outlined above, but if Mendenhall's table of Byblos syllabic characters is applied to the inscription the result will be virtually the same:

nu ḥu ta ma tu ša ma ga du da

Mendenhall did not allow for the possibility that the syllabograms could also act as logograms, and he did not recognize that his *tu* was the regalia hieroglyph, hence *šubtu*, "sceptre". There is a temptation to change *ga* to *gi* on the table (the boomerang may be *gimlu* rather than *gamlu*), but the translation is:

Sealed. The Sceptre of Megiddo.

Does this signet ring put the seal of authenticity on Mendenhall's decipherment of the Canaanite syllabary?

NOTAE QUMRANICAE PHILOLOGICAE (3)¹
THE COMMUNITY RULE (1QS): COLUMN 3

BY

TAKAMITSU MURAOKA

1QS 3:1 **צדק** **משפטי** **דעת** **יסורי**] The first noun is most likely a verbal noun of the binyan D, a pattern quite common in RH: **יסור**.² This particular noun is not attested in BH.

As to the meaning of the word, a significant shift of emphasis seems to be taking place in QH in relation to BH. In the latter the aspect of punitive, at times severely punitive action is often evident in words derived from the root **יסר** and the noun **יסור** in RH, often in pl. as here, usually carries such a punitive connotation, whereas the usage in QH of the lexemes derived from this root, as in some passages in the biblical sapiential literature,³ appears to be characterised by educative aspect, not necessarily by means of painful experiences and lessons. Such a meaning is recognisable also in prose in Late BH: 1Ch **יָסַר בְּמִשָּׁא** 'he instructed in music.' See further CD 4.8 **לַעֲשׂוֹת כַּפְרוֹשׁ הַתּוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר הִתּוֹסְרוּ בּוֹ הָרִאשִׁימִים** 'to do in accordance with the interpretation of the Law in which the first were instructed,' ib. 7.5 **וְנִשְׁפָּטוּ בַּמִּשְׁפָּטִים הָרִשׁוֹנִים אֲשֶׁר** 1QS 9.10 **מִשְׁפָּט הַיִּסּוּרִים** 7.8 **יִסּוּרֵי בְרִית אֵל** **הַחֲלוּ אֲנִשֵּׁי הַיַּחֲד לְתִיסָר בֵּם**. A picture of sectarians submitting themselves to physical self-flagellation is not very plausible. The collocation **יסורי דעת** here must then mean '(frequent) attempts to inculcate knowledge.'

Whether the following two words, obviously a construct phrase, forms part of an unusually long construct chain consisting of four nouns⁴ or the second construct chain introduces the following clause is not clear. Context-

¹ Cf. the two earlier instalments in *RdQ* 17 (1996) 573-83 and *AbN* 33 (1995) 55-73. Part of the results published here has been presented as a paper on 3 June 1998 at the sixth Israeli conference on Biblical philology in memory of Professor Moshe Held held at the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev as organised by Prof. Chaim Cohen. The author is grateful to the authorities of the university for inviting him as distinguished guest and to Prof. Elisha Qimron for the initiative he had taken in order to make his (and his wife's) visit to the university possible. The author is further indebted to valuable comments offered by members of the audience.

² Cf. BL 480 *v*7, JM §881 *e*, Segal, §241, and Qimron 1986: §330.1 b.

³ Note especially a collocation such as **מוֹסֵר וְחֻקָּה** Pr 1.2, 7.

⁴ Another such example is in line 6 **בְּרוּחַ עֲצַת אֱמֶת אֵל** "in the spirit of counsel of truth of God."

tually, however, the latter analysis is unlikely. **משפטי צדק לוא חזק** can hardly be translated as “Die gerechten Satzungen hat er nicht festgehalten” (Lohse 1986:9) nor “il n’a pas affermi (en lui) les ordonnances de justice” (Dupont-Sommer 1987:14).

חזק למושב חיו Some of those scholars who do not make two distinct construct chains out of the four adjacent nouns mentioned above assign the meaning “to be able (to)” to **חזק**. So Wernberg-Møller (1957) and Charlesworth (1994). The former cites 4Ezra 7.81-82 “non possunt reversionem bonam facere ut vivant,” which he apparently believes is capable of being retroverted to ... **לא חזקו**. Although **σχέσειν** + inf. does mean “can,” not only in the New Testament,⁵ there is no assured example of **חזק** being synonymous with **יכל**.⁶ The closer parallel is to be found at 1Ch 28.7 **אם יחזק לעשות מצותי** ‘if he is determined (or: makes determined efforts) to do my commands.’⁷ Cf. also Dt 12.23 **רק חזק לבבתי אכל הדם**.⁸

משוב is often said to be an Aramaising Qal infinitive. Such forms, however, are attested only in the Palestinian Talmud, Galilaean Aramaic, and (once) in Palestinian Pentateuch Targum.⁹ The form is obviously a secondary, analogical development based on the Imperfect. The stem vowel is therefore most likely *u*.¹⁰ The standard Aramaic infinitive Qal of hollow roots is **מקם** as in Biblical Aramaic **מהק**. Licht (1965:44) justly highlights the prefix Mem as Aramaising, for the stem vowel is that of the Hebrew infinitive.

The infinitival phrase is generally translated as if the infinitive were a transitive Hifil: “the conversion of his life” (Vermes 1995:72). This is, however, merely a question of translation technique.¹¹

עם ישרים לוא יתחשב “he will not be counted among the upright”] The only instance in BH of Hitpacl **חשב** is Nu 23:9 **לא יתחשב** where, however, the binyan is reflexive, “counting itself,” whereas in our passage it is more likely passive.¹² BH expresses the notion of “to be reckoned among”

⁵ E.g., Mt 26.40 **אנטו שחטאסδε μὴν ὄραν γρηγορησῆσαι** ‘you were not able to keep awake even an hour.’

⁶ Ps. 12(13).4 **שחטאס πρὸς ἀντὶν** [= **יכלתי**] is close, but not quite the same. Similarly Da. TH 7.21 **שחטאס πρὸς ἀντὶν** **להון** ‘to fast’.

⁷ Cf. Vulg. *si perseveraverit facere praecepta mea*.

⁸ There is no paleographic basis for Martone’s reading **חזק**.

⁹ See Qimron (1976:270, n. 135), idem (1986: §330.1 b), Dalman (1905:316, 321), and Fassberg (1990:186—**למצום** ‘to fast’).

¹⁰ Metso’s reading **משיב** (1997:35) is grammatically difficult.

¹¹ Cf. the neutrality of the infinitive in respect of voice: e.g., Gn 6.20 **שנים מכל יבאו** “two of every kind shall come to you to be kept alive.” See JM 1993: §124 s.

¹² The Jewish Publication Society Pentateuch renders: “not reckoned among the nations.” But the preceding sentence “There is a people that dwells apart” seems to lay

in Nifal: e.g., Ps 88.5 **נִחְשְׁבִי עִם יוֹרְדֵי בֹר**: cf. CD 19.35 **לֹא יִחְשְׁבוּ בְסוּד עִם** “they shall not be reckoned among the assembly of the people.” The Hit. **הִתְחַשַּׁב** in the sense of “to be regarded as similar to, to be considered as one of” is therefore most likely Aramaising: such a nuance of the verb is unknown to RH.

1QS 3:2 **וְדַעְתּוֹ וְכוּחוֹ וְהוֹנוֹ לֹא יִבּוֹאוּ בַעֲצַת יָחִד** [Whether one should read **יִבּוֹאוּ** (Qal) or **יִבְיִאוּ** (Hif.), the clause-initial position of the three assets a community member may possess and contribute to it is significant in comparison with 1.11 **וְכֹל הַנִּדְבִים יִבְיִאוּ כֹל דַּעְתָּם וְכוּחָם וְהוֹנָם**. The reason is contextual, for an exception is being made of a particular type of candidates.

יִבּוֹאוּ [בסאון רשע מחרש] Licht (1965:77) has seen our text’s dependence on Is 9.4 and pointed to the Targum *ad loc.*, which also reads **רשע** for **רעש** of the MT. The figurative sense of **חרש** “to plot” is, as noted by Wernberg-Møller (1957:58), already biblical (Ho 10.13, Pr 6.18). **מחרש** is a new noun which must mean “a plot, plan.”

The noun **סֶאֶן** is a hapax in BH, and on the basis of comparative Semitics is said to signify “boot, shoe,” a meaning which manifestly does not fit our 1QS context where it is parallel to **גִּזְלִים**, which has to do with defilement. Most translations such as “step” (Leaney, Knibb), “muck” (Wise), “mud” (Vermes), “slime” (García Martínez), “filth” (Charlesworth) reflect this understanding of the BH hapax.¹³ The Targum at Is 9.4 **כָּל מִסְכָּהוֹן וּמִתְנַהוֹן בְּרִשְׁעָא אֲתַנְעִלוּ בְּחֻבְיָא** “all their dealings were in wickedness; they were polluted with transgressions” suggests a form of **נִשְׂאָן**. The presence of **אֲתַנְעִלוּ** indicates a shared tradition of interpretation.

Martone (1995:141, n. 45) proposes a palaeographical solution by reading **בֶּאֶן**, for he thinks that the uncertain reading of the second letter is a poorly erased Beth (dittography). This proposal may find some support in the biblical collocation Job 4.8 **חֲרָשֵׁי אָן** “those who devise iniquity.” But the combination **אֶן רִשְׁעָא** is somewhat clumsy.

גִּזְלִים most probably a plene spelled pl. of a segholate noun **גִּזַּל** “stain.”¹⁴ Cf. Neh 13.29 **גִּזְלֵי**. BDB note the verb as late, a by-form of **גָּזַל**.

stress on the people’s deliberate decision to keep to themselves, so the following statement is not about what others thought about this particular nation, but how they conducted themselves.

¹³ The basis of Dupont-Sommer’s “trouble” and Wernberg-Møller’s “sin” is not apparent. Is the former emending the form to **שֶׂאֶן**? So already R. Isaías of Tarani (?). Cf. also Haberman (1959:184—*מהומה*). Lohse’s “Frevel” for his emendation **אֶסֶן** is no less self-evident.

¹⁴ The Alef is written above the line between the Gimel and the Waw, which does not have to indicate **גִּזְלִים**, for the upper shaft of the Lamedh would have prevented adding the

[שובתו] The context indicates “conversion, repentance” as its meaning, a meaning which suits its only occurrence in BH: Is 30.15 בְּשׁוּבָה וְנַחַת תִּלְשְׁעוּן “in returning and rest you will be saved.” The verbal noun of a hollow root is attested with either *i* or *u*, which shows no correlation with the putative second radical, namely *w* or *y*: thus בִּיאָה, קִימָה, בּוּשָׁה, בּוּזָה. Wernberg-Møller (1957:59) wants to read שִׁיבָתוֹ “in its session,” which would make an unusual case of plene spelling.

1QS 3.3 [לוא יצדק במתור שרירות לבו] The imperfect is one of a series of imperfects, all indicating verdicts to be pronounced on any aberrant member of the community. “He shall not be vindicated” is to be preferred to Charlesworth’s (1991:13) “He is not righteous.” Likewise (1) עַם יִשְׂרָאֵל לוא יתחשב לוא יזכה ... ולוא יטהר ... ולוא יתקדש (4-5); לוא יבואו (2); יתחשב ... לוא יתחשב לוא יזכה ... ולוא יטהר ... טמא טמא יהיה ... The same interpretation can be made to apply to (3) חושך יביט לדרכי אור “he shall be condemned to staring at darkness for ways of light” instead of, for instance, “since he regards darkness as paths to light” (García Martínez). The imperfect is hardly suitable for a statement of a fact or a description of a prevailing situation, in other words, a plain indicative: “preferring to gaze on darkness rather than the ways of light” (Wise 1996:129).

The preposition Beth is not temporal: *pace* Wernberg-Møller and Charlesworth “when he walks,” Lohse “solange,” García Martínez “while,” and Dupont-Sommer “alors que.” It rather indicates a ground for condemnation and verdict: “a causa della trasgressione” (Martone 1995:119). Cf. Ezk 16.52 “because of your sins (בְּחַטָּאתֶיךָ) ... they are more in the right than you (תִּצְדָּקְנָה מִמֶּךָ).” See also 1QS 2.5 אַרְוֹר אַתָּה בְּכֹל מַעֲשֵׂי רָשָׁע אֲשֶׁמֶתְךָ 2.16 וְנִכְרַת מִתּוֹךְ כֹּל בְּנֵי אֹר בְּהַסּוּגוֹ מֵאַחֲרֵי אֵל בְּגִלּוּלֵי.

מתור is agreed to be an Aramaising Qal infinitive of $\sqrt{\text{תור}}$ “to wander,” as in משׁוב above. Cf. Nu 15.39 לֹא תִתְּרוּ אַחֲרֵי לִבְבְּכֶם. One expects a preposition after the infinitive: ב or אַחֲרֵי (Yalon 1967:80). On the latter possibility, see CD 3.11 וַיִּתְּרוּ אַחֲרֵי שְׂרִירוֹת לִבָּם. See also 1QH 4.15 וְעַם שְׂרִירוֹת לִבָּם יתורו. Qimron (1986:111) admits a new noun, מִתְּוֹר.

[וחושך יביט לדרכי אור] There is no need to supply the preposition Beth before the first noun nor to take it as adverbial accusative (Wernberg-Møller 1957:59). It is a plain direct object, which the verb הִבִּיט sometimes takes: Nu 12.9 תַּמוּנַת יְהוָה יִבִּיט; ib. 23.21 לֹא הִבִּיט אֶן; Is 38.11 אִם אֵינִי אֲדָם. The force of the preposition Lamedh may be reproduced by a paraphrastic rendering: “when he is in fact looking for ways of light.”

Alef further to the left. Besides the verb root גָּאֵל is not attested in Qal. A 4Q fragment reads גָּאֵל [גָּאֵל], 4QS^c fig. 1, col. 2.4, where Charlesworth (1994:68) restores גָּאֵל [גָּאֵל], but the restoration is by no means assured.

Pace Charlesworth (“darkness he considers the ways of light”) the verb הָבִיט can not mean “to consider” in the sense of “to regard as” (so García Martínez: “he regards darkness as paths to life”).

בְּעֵין תְּמִימִים לֹא יִתְחַשֵּׁב [The emendation of בְּעֵין to עַם or וְעַם is very sensible. “In the fount of the perfect ones he cannot be accounted” (Charlesworth) or “in the source of the perfect he shall not be counted” (García Martínez) is rather obscure. 1QS 3.19 בְּמַעֲיָן אֹר תּוֹלְדוֹת הָאֵמֶת, to which Martone (1995:141) refers as a parallel, is no real parallel and does not justify his rendering: “non sarà annoverato nella fonte dei perfetti.”]

יִטְהַר [לֹא יִזְכֶּה בַּכְּפֻרִים 1QS 3.4] The verb יִזְכֶּה here as well as the parallel יִטְהַר (4 and 5) are, in line with יִתְקַדֵּשׁ (4), best taken as Hitpael’s.¹⁵ So Wernberg-Møller 1957:59, n. 11 and Qimron 1976:180, idem 1986:55. The function of Hitpael of these stative verbs, however, is hardly reflexive or passive.¹⁶ It is rather inchoative or ingressive, “to describe the entry into a new state or condition” (Segal 1927:66). See also 5Q13 frg. 4.2 וְלֹא יִזְכֶּה בַּכְּפֻרִים.

The association between the notion of purity expressed by the verb יִזְכֶּה and the ritual of purification performed by means of water may have been partly triggered by the above-mentioned Isaianic passage, 1.16 רָחֲצוּ הַזִּכּוֹ

מִי נִדָּה “water of impurity,” namely water used in order to remove impurity. This cultic term is biblical in origin, based on Nu 19. Its application there, however, is specific in that it is concerned about impurity resulting from contact with dead bodies. The only other occurrence of the term in Nu 31.23 is also about cleansing metal weapons contaminated after their use in war. Its use in our document, however, appears to be more general of application, more “spiritualised,” as is evident from lines 5-6: “he shall remain totally defiled as long as he rejects divine ordinances by not consenting to be instructed in the community of His council.”

בִּימִים וְנִהְרֹת [an interesting combination. In the Bible it is only in Lv 11.9, 10 בִּימִים וּבְנִהְרֵים where one finds יָם combined with a synonym (נָחַל), though יָם and נִהַר occur in parallelism at Is 19.5 and Ezk 32.2 (Wernberg-Møller 1957:60). In the Mishnaic halacha the river (נִהַר) is the usual locus for ritual bathing or immersion (טְבִילָה), e.g. Makh 5.1. Was the addition of יָם possibly prompted by the proximity of the Dead Sea?

¹⁵ On the complete assimilation of /z/ instead of /-zd-/ , see Bergsträsser 1918: §19b with reference to Is 1.16 הַזִּכּוֹ (so already Ibn Ezra ad loc.).

¹⁶ Reflexive—Qimron 1976:180, “(wird entsühnt [Nifal יִזְכֶּה])... sich reinigen, sich heiligen” (יִטְהַר and יִתְקַדֵּשׁ Lohse), “purify himself, cleanse himself, sanctify himself” (Wernberg-Møller); passive—“he shall neither be purified... nor cleansed... nor sanctified... nor washed clean” (Vermes). Charlesworth is inconsistent: “cannot be purified... nor be cleansed... nor sanctify himself... nor cleanse himself.”

רחץ] The noun רחץ “washing” spelled plene, רוחץ, is attested at 4Q414 frag. 12.7 (personal communication from Prof. E. Qimron).

טמא טמא יהיה] Brownlee (1951:13) justly recognised that our text here is based on Lv 13.45-46, which, however, deals with the leper, who, on account of his uncleanness, is to be excommunicated and dwell outside of the camp. Wernberg-Møller (1957:60) speaks of a strong spiritualistic note in our document at this point. See our remark above on the water of purification. In the Leviticus passage the ostracised leper is to shout טמא טמא to warn passers-by to keep away from him, whilst here the community is to attach the label to the deviant among its own ranks.¹⁷

כל ימי אשר הנגע בו יטמא אל 3.5 QS¹ Cf. Lv 13.46 כל ימי אשר יטמא הוא.

The plural of יום¹⁸ followed by an infinitive construct in a temporal phrase is rare in BH: Ru 1.1 ויהי בימי שפט השפטים; 2Ch 26.5 ובימי דרשו; Mi 7.15 כימי צאתך מארץ מצרים, whereas the singular ביום followed by an inf. cstr. is far more common: e.g., Gn 2.4 ביום עשות יהוה ... ארץ ושמים. But either יום or ימי without a preceding preposition is unknown to us. The closest parallel is the above quoted Lv 13.46, which lies behind our text; Nu 9.18 כל ימי אשר ישכן הענן.

1 QS 3.6 [לבלתי התיסר ביחד עצתו] García Martínez's rendition, “without allowing himself to be taught...,” captures the exegetical force of the preposition well. On the negative לבלתי with the infinitive, see Qimron 1986:78.

יכופרו כול עוונותיו] Here begins a series of statements specifying how one's spiritual standing improves. All the statements are introduced by a prepositional phrase with Bet, indicating how such a change can be brought about. The fronting of the prepositional phrases is for the sake of contrast with another series of statements saying how a person can *not* achieve such an advancement, statements in which the corresponding prepositional phrases *follow* the verbs: לוא יוכה בכפורים ולוא יטהר במי נדה ולוא יתקדש בימים ונהרות ולוא יטהר בכול מי רחץ (4-5). Spiritual and moral qualities (נפש and רוח) are contrasted with cultic rituals as a means of spiritual purification.

דרכי אש יכופרו כול עוונותיו] Although כול עוונותיו may be taken as being in apposition to דרכי אש, the latter is awkward as the grammatical subject of יכופרו. Licht's emendation (1965:79) לרצות אל דרכי אש, a scribal error due to homoeoteleuton, is attractive.

ברוח קדושה] In view of the parallel phrases, all introduced by ברוח and followed by an abstract noun or noun phrase, קדושה here is likely an abstract noun קדושה rather than an adjective קדושה:

¹⁷ Cf. Milgrom 1991:803-5.

¹⁸ If genuine, the pl. form ימי must be an Aramaism.

- (6) ברוה עצת אמת אל דרכי איש יכופרו כול עוונותיו
 (7) וברוה קדושה ליחד באמתו יטהר מכול עוונותו
 (8) וברוה יושר וענוה תכופר חטתו

and this is rounded off by

- (8) ובענות נפשו לכול חוקי אל יטהר בשרו

One may also note a synonymous phrase רוח קודש at 4.21 and 9.3.

The variant 4Q255 frg. 2.1 ברוה קודש does not necessarily contradict our interpretation: the possessive suffix does not have to refer to God, whereas 1QH 7.6 רוח קודשכה is undoubtedly divine.

The translations such as “the Holy Spirit” (Charlesworth) with the capital letters or “durch den heiligen Geist” (Lohse) are misleading.¹⁹ In other words, the spirit here is not a superhuman, transcendental divine entity, but rather a spirit as an inner principle which guides and determines attitudes, thoughts and actions of members of the community. That it is about a *human* spirit is manifest in רוח יושר וענוה where the last attribute is further elaborated in the following clause with ענות נפשו, which can only refer to a human attribute and virtue. See also discussion by Licht 1965:74-76 where he speaks of רוח as a sum total of every person’s personal properties. Therefore רוח קדושה is one’s inclination and determination to seek and attain sanctity and to lead a holy life.

[ליחד באמתו] a syntactically difficult phrase. If יהד be a noun, the phrase might mean something like “a spirit of sanctity which is derived from the community...” Another possibility is to take ליחד as a Hithpael infinitive.²⁰ Then the phrase could be translated “a spirit of sanctity which strives after conformity with His truth.” The preposition Beth may be compared with a collocation such as דבק ב-.

[יטהר מכול עוונותו] The verb is most likely a Hithpael along with the following יטהר (8). Note also the preceding כול עוונותיו (6). All current dictionaries of Classical Hebrew, however, regard the Hithpael here as reflexive, “to cleanse oneself.”²¹ See our remarks above on 3.4.

On the orthographic contrast עוונותו and עוונותיו (7) and its phonological implication for QH, see Qimron 1986:59.

[ובענות נפשו לכול חוקי אל יטהר בשרו] 1QS 3.8 The author elaborates the fundamental break made by his community with the traditional way of achieving religious purity. ענות נפש ‘spiritual humility’ is most likely an allusion to עניי נפש, which traditionally was practised during the most impor-

¹⁹ Dupont-Sommer also uses the capital letter throughout: “l’Esprit de vrai conseil,” “l’Esprit saint,” “l’Esprit de droiture et d’humilité.”

²⁰ See Qimron 1986:55.

²¹ Including DCH III 347 where our passage is mentioned as well.

tant religious ceremony of Ancient Israel, namely **יום הכפורים**, in the form of fasting and abstinence from food (Lv 16.29 **תַּעֲזוּ אֶת נַפְשֵׁיכֶם**).²² Such an interpretation is certainly in accord with a passage like Dt 8.3 where God Himself imposed upon Israel such a physical deprivation (**וַיַּעֲזֶבְהָ וַיִּרְעַבְהָ**).²³ This forty-year abstinence, however, was intended as a spiritual discipline, for God wanted to find out whether His people would humbly acknowledge their position of dependence on Him and obey his commandments: Dt 8.2 **לִמְעַן עֲזֹתְךָ לִנְסוֹתָךְ לִדְעוֹת אֶת אֲשֶׁר בְּלִבְכֶּךָ הַתְּשַׁמֵּר מִצְוֹתַי אִם לֹא**. This seems to be reflected in the unique combination **עֲנוֹת נַפְשׁוֹ לְכוֹל חֻקִּי אֵל**. See further the description of the spiritual deviant among the community earlier: **גַּעְלָה נַפְשׁוֹ בִּיסוּרֵי דַעַת** (2.26-3.1), and compare Dt 8.5 where the deprivation of the usual food in the wilderness is said to have been an act of **יִסּוּר**. If Dt 8 and Lv 16.29 are interrelated, **נַפְשֵׁיכֶם** in the latter can only mean “yourselves,” and not “your souls,” for otherwise we would expect **וַיַּעֲזֶב אֶת נַפְשׁוֹ** and **וַיִּרְעַב אֶת נַפְשׁוֹ**. One normally tortures others, not oneself. Our author rightly captured the general drift of Dt 8, but “spiritualised” the noun **נַפֶּשׁ** by having seen a connection between Dt 8 and Lv 16:29-34 dealing with the redemption, which is also the main theme of our passage in 1QS. In the same vein our author interpreted the second word of the pair, namely **עֲנָה** in a spiritual way: not physical torturing, but humility and spiritual submission.²⁴

With the concluding clause **יִטְהַר בְּשָׂרוֹ** stresses the author that physical purity can be obtained through the traditional ritual only when accompanied by the right attitude of mind. Here again one needs to pay attention to the parallelism of structure:

עֲנוֹת נַפְשׁוֹ לְכוֹל חֻקִּי אֵל יִטְהַר בְּשָׂרוֹ לְהוֹזוֹת בְּמִי נָדָה וּלְהַתְקַדֵּשׁ בְּמִי דוֹכִי 8-9
בְּרוּחַ אֱמֶת אֵל דְּרָכֵי אִישׁ יִכּוּפְרוּ כוֹל עֲוֹנוֹתָיו לְהַבִּיט בְּאוּרֵי הַחַיִּים 6-7

The two statements are similar in their logical structure, which is matched by a syntactic parallelism. It is only natural then that the morphosyntactic function of the infinitive should be comparable in both statements. If it is broadly consecutive in the latter—so in most translations—that must equally apply to the first statement. It would not do to

²² That even within the traditional Judaism there was a greater scope of application of this injunction is shown by Milgrom 1991:1054, who translates the phrase with “practise self-denial,” though things thus denied oneself are still material in nature.

²³ Cf. also Ps 35.13 **עֲנִיתִי בְשׁוֹם נַפְשִׁי**.

²⁴ Prof. Qimron mentioned an alternative reading: **בְּעֲנוֹת נַפְשׁוֹ**. How should one, however, understand this BH hapax: Ps 22.25 **עָנִי עָנִי**, a condition crying for God’s gracious attention.

translate it as if it were instrumental: “by sprinkling with water of purification...” (Wernberg-Møller), for instance. Nor is it temporal—“quand on l’aspergera avec l’eau...” (Dupont-Sommer). When one demonstrates the right spiritual attitude, then his flesh can be declared clean, wherewith the condition is met, allowing him to proceed to the ritual. This is quite different from the interpretation underlying Vermes’s translation: “When his flesh is sprinkled... and sanctified..., it shall be made clean by the humble submission...” Another of the earlier and contrasting statements—“he shall not be considered righteous (לוא יצדק)... nor shall be reckoned among the innocent (לוא יתחשב)... nor shall be declared innocent (לוא יזכה)... nor shall become clean (לוא יטהר)... nor shall achieve sanctity (לוא יתקדש)” (3-4), it is manifest that **התקדש** here does not denote the act of going through a certain ritual, but rather achieving the status of **קדוש** (ingressive).

1QS 3.9 **נדה במי נדה** [להזות במי נדה] “to sprinkle with water (for removing) impurity.” This is a unique verb complementation. In BH the verb in Hifil shows the following modes of complementation:

- + acc. (liquid), e.g. Nu 8.7 **הִזָּה עליהם מי חטאת**
- + nom. (liquid), e.g. Lv 4.6 **והזה מן הדם**
- + pers. or thing to be sprinkled, e.g., Lv 8.30 **ויז על אהרן על בגדיו**.

The third complementation must be elliptic. No single case of complementation with the preposition Beth is attested. This is an extension of the elliptical syntagm with an instrumental Beth, not a Beth of direct object marker or, in Jenni’s (1992:96-99) terminology, Beth gesticulationis, as in Pr 6.13 **קִרְץ בְּעֵינָיו**.²⁵

The actual collocation as here occurs in the Bible only at Nu 19.21 **מִי מִזֶּה הַנְּדָה יִכָּבֵס בְּגָדָיו**. The Massoretic pointing of the ptc. as cst. renders it uncertain whether it is a case of **את** complementation or not: cf. **יוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ = יוֹשְׁבִים בָּאָרֶץ**.

דוכי [מי דוכי] The form of the second word is uncertain, which has to do with the uncertainty of its root. The BH hapax at Ps 93.3 **דְּכִיָּם** most certainly has to do with **דכא** or **דכה** “to crush, shatter,” thus “roaring sounds of rivers.” But the phrase in our passage is parallel with **נדה במי נדה**, which clearly points to the well-known Aramaic root **דכה** “pure,” then an Aramising form instead of **זכה** (see **יזכה** at 3.4). Cf. JA **דְּכִוְתָא**,²⁶ Syr. *dakyutā*,

²⁵ Though Wernberg-Møller justly refutes Brownlee’s emendation to **להזכות**, his alternative suggestion that our author was influenced by Nu 19.21 **במי הנדה** is unlikely where the full text reads **הַנְּדָה יִכָּבֵס**!

²⁶ Pace Licht (1965:80): **דוכי**.

*dukkāyā*²⁷ CPA *dkyw*, SA *dkwh*. Moreover, the first vowel letter is puzzling, if an Aramaism: the second Syriac lexeme may be left out, since the pattern *quttāl* as Pael verbal noun is very weakly attested in Palestinian Aramaic. Yalon (1967:80) mentions Aramaic דוכי as its etymology, but we do not know which Aramaic dialect he had in mind. Qimron (1986:107) points the form as דְּכִי. Our author probably had Ps 93 at the back of his mind where the text has נְהָרוֹת דְּכִים next to מְשַׁבְּרֵי-יָם just as earlier in our column—בְּמִי נִדָּה ... בִּימֵים וְנִהְרוֹת ... בְּכֹל מִי רָחַץ—and at the same time is giving an Aramaising twist to the lexeme in question. This would account for its form as well as its meaning.²⁸

Qimron (1986:45) regards the form of the verb as Aramaic. The Heh, however, is not attested after Biblical Aramaic except in the pf., impv. and inf. (Beyer 1984:467). If this were indeed an Aramaism, could it be used for dating our document? The non-syncope of Heh, however, is, albeit only sporadically, attested in BH (JM 1993: §54 *b*) as late as Neh 11.17 יְהוּדָה. In any case the Heh in our passage must be authentic, since our scribe tends to drop such a Heh.

[להלכת תמים] obviously an error for ללכת. The writer may initially have meant Piel infinitive as in 9.19 להלך תמים איש את רעהו בכול הנגלה להם. Or defectively spelt for הִלִּיכְתָּ (Licht 1965:80) or הִלְכְתָּ, but the parallelism with the following ולוא favours an infinitive.

Pace Licht (1965:80) the syntagm <אין + inf.> is not a variant of <לוא + inf.>. The structure here is different from that in Col. 1 where we have a series of infinitives, both positive and negative. Here the first negative inf. ולוא לסור is coordinate with להלכת, both in turn being subordinate to יהכין פעמין. Thus אין לצעוד is an independent clause, parenthetical in relation to *all* that precedes. On the collocation צעד על, see Muraoka 1996:577.

[ירצה בכפורי נוחח לפני אל] clearly based, as justly noted by Wernberg-Møller (1957:65), on Ezk 20:41 בריח נוחח ארצה אתכם where God is the subject. Our ירצה must be taken as passive Nifal, “accepted.” This transformation, however, *pace* Wernberg-Møller, is not motivated by antianthropomorphism, for ריח has been replaced by כפורים.²⁹

²⁷ The latter is a Pael verbal noun: “purification,” wrongly *dūkāyā* in HAL 212b, where an alternative translation is suggested as “fliessendes Wasser.” The BH hapax, on which this alternative is based, has not to do with ‘water’, but with ‘sound.’ The waterfall of En-Gedi is nothing like the Niagara Falls.

²⁸ 4Q512 xii 4 is paleographically uncertain: במי דוכי has been read (DJD VII 272).

²⁹ Note Gn 8.21 וַיְרַח יְהוָה אֶת רִיחַ הַנְּחוּחַ, which is in Trg Onkelos turned into וקביל יי ברעוא ית קורבניה “and the Lord accepted with pleasure his sacrifice,” a tradition of interpretation clearly reflected in Trg Jonathan at the above-quoted Ezk passage with קרבן לרעוא יתקבל קרבנכון “your sacrifice will be accepted as a sacrifice for pleasure.”

There is one significant difference, however, between 1QS and its biblical priestly sources. In the latter the subject of **רצה** Ni. is a sacrifice as in Lv 1.4 **ונרצה לו לכפר עליו** “it shall be accepted on his behalf to expiate for him,” whereas here the subject is the offerer of a spiritual sacrifice, which holds also for Ezk 20.41. Greater personalisation and individualisation are characteristic of the theology of this document.

1QS 3.11 **והיתה לו לברית יחד עולמים** [The generally recognised dependence here on Nu 25.13 **והיתה לו ולורעו אחריו ברית כהונת עולם** is manifest in the lack of concord, **היתה** (fem.), the gender of which is in the biblical text what is to be expected, as its subject is **בריתי** in vs. 12.

1QS 3.13 **למשכיל להבין וללמד את כול בני אור** Vermes’s “the Master” is preferable to “the wise man” (Wernberg-Møller and others). For Late BH, note especially Dn 11.33 **עם יבנינו לְרַבִּים** where, like here, his function is said to be to help others understand (**בין** Hif.). The emphasis is on his function rather on his quality. Almost certain that we find the same structure in 1QSb 5.20 **למשכיל לברך את נשיא העדה**.³⁰

The syntactic relation marked by the preposition Lamedh of **למשכיל** to the following two infinitives is in need of elucidation, although a translation such as “It is for the Master to instruct and to teach” (Charlesworth) is acceptable in the context.³¹ Indication of a duty or responsibility by means of an infinitive requires in Standard BH, however, **על** as in 2Sm 18.11 **עלי לָתֵת** “it would have been incumbent upon me to give.”³² But the usage in our passage is attested mostly in Late BH³³: Jer 10.23 **את והכין את** **לא לאיש הלך והכין את** “it is up to you to know”; ib. 20.17 **לא לך עזיהו להקטיר ליהוה**; Ezr 4.3 **ולנו לא לך עזיהו להקטיר ליהוה**; 26.18 **לא לך עזיהו להקטיר ליהוה**; 26.18 **לא לך עזיהו להקטיר ליהוה**; 26.18 **לא לך עזיהו להקטיר ליהוה**. A Leiden student of mine, Mr P.-J. Kieviet, has drawn my attention to another, and this time pre-exilic, example, and characteristically without Lamedh: 1Sm 23.20 **ולנו הסגירו ביד המלך**. In fact, moreover, there appears to be a subtle difference in meaning between the two syntagmas: the second syntagm with Lamedh indicates a task and function, not necessarily a duty or obligation. Such an interpretation accords better with the position of the negator in many of the above examples.

³⁰ The stichometry with a blank at the start of the line makes it plain that here begins a new pericope, so also at 1QS 3.13.

³¹ The notion of purpose is hardly in place: cf. “Für den Unterweiser, um zu unterweisen...” (Lohse) and “Pour l’homme intelligent, afin qu’il instruisse...” (Dupont-Sommer).

³² As a matter of fact, this syntagm is continued into RH: e.g., mNaz 1.1 **עלי לשלח פרע** “I must let (my hair) grow wild.” See Segal 1958:167 and Fernández 1997:147.

³³ Also in Egyptian Aramaic: **מחר לי למאול [ל]ביתי** “tomorrow I ought to go to my house” (TAD D7.1:9).

³⁴ This example is taken from Driver (1913:188 ad 1Sm 23.21), who emends the MT **הֵלֵךְ** to **הֵלֵךְ**.

[את כול בני אור] The phrase is obviously a reference to members of the community. It recurs elsewhere: 1.9, 2.16, 3.24, 25, 1QM 1.1, 3.9, 11.13, and often with כול preceding, emphasising the communal and corporate aspect of the organisation. As against 1.9 לאהוב כול בני אור we note את in our passage despite the lack of formal determination, an indication that the reference is to fellow members. The quantifier כל also carries a degree of determining force: see JM §138 *d*. A scribal error (אור for האור), though this fairly frequent designation is always anarthrous, or a phonetic spelling reflecting the weakening of gutturals, is also possible.

איש [תולדות כול בני איש] The key word תולדות has been interpreted in various ways: “genealogies” paraphrased as “origin and history” (Wernberg-Møller 1957:67), “history” (Leaney 1966:143; García Martínez), “nature” (Dupont-Sommer; Vermes; Charlesworth), “Ursprung” (Lohse), and “character and fate” (Wise). Authorities are divided then between “nature, character” and “history,” “genealogies” subsumed under the latter and “Ursprung” focusing on the initial point of history. Wise has combined both, as Licht (1965:85—קורותיה ותכונותיה) did. The word, always in the plural, occurs elsewhere in the DSS. In 1QM 3.13, 5.1 שבותי ישראל כתולדותם where the meaning traditionally attached to it, “genealogies,” suggests itself.³⁷ However, in the same document at 10.14 ותולדותיו כנף תבנית אדם such a meaning is out of place in the light of the juxtaposed תבנית. In 1QS itself it occurs three more times: 3.19 במעין אור תולדות האמת וממקור חושך; 4.15 תולדות העול; 4.15 באלה תולדות כול בני איש. In 1QS 3.13 and 3.15 in particular we are inclined to the meaning “what is generated by, and happens to, mankind,” thus “history” broadly understood, not in the sense of a chronology with dates and names. We would point to the presence of מעשיהם in the context (3:14; 4.16). The same applies to the above mentioned 1QM 10.14.

As pointed out by some authors,³⁸ the whole phrase or the entire passage here echoes the primaeval history in Genesis. The use of איש (as against Gen 5.1 אדם (תולדות אדם) and אנוש (later in line 17: הוא ברא אנוש לממשלת) is all the more striking. Even confining ourselves to 1QS, we note that its author uses sometimes אדם as in 11.15 חטאת בני אדם, and even in parallelism with אנוש as in 11.6. מאנוש ... מבני אדם. Pending a systematic enquiry, one may say that the choice of איש and אנוש in our particular passage is a felicitous one where the author presents his doctrine of anthropology.

[רוחותם באותותם ... בדורותם] Instead of רוחותיהם etc., on which see Qimron 1986:63, according to whom the shorter form is the norm in QH,

³⁷ See also CD 4.4-5 תולדותיהם לתולדותם.

³⁸ Wernberg-Møller 1957:67 and Licht 1965:85.

though Qumran biblical texts strangely prefer the long form.³⁹ Cf. also JM 1993: §94 g.⁴⁰

1QS 3.14 [ולפקודת נגיעיהם עם קצי שלומם] That the text is based on Hos 9.7 **בָּאוּ יְמֵי הַפְּקָדָה בָּאוּ יְמֵי הַשָּׁלָם** is generally admitted. Wernberg-Møller (1957:68) and some others think that our author vocalised the second word differently, namely **הַשָּׁלֹם**, and consequently the two noun phrases refer to two different groups of people, those doomed for punishment of plagues and those destined for reward of peace. In the biblical text there is no question of such a dichotomy, though the pericope 1QS 3.13-4.14 does present such a view.⁴¹ We question such an analysis, however, on two grounds. 1) There is no formal nor semantic parallelism between the noun phrases. 2) A related passage in 1QH 1.17f. **וּפְקֻדַּת שְׁלֹמָם עִם כֹּל נִגְעֵיהֶם** renders such a dichotomy totally impossible: here we have the two nouns in question bound as a construct phrase followed by a third noun, **נִגַע**, also appearing in our 1QS passage. Then **שְׁלֹמָם** may be pointed **שְׁלֹמָם**.

The way the preposition **עִם** is used here is striking: it appears to have the force of addition in the manner of 'as well as' or 'likewise.' Two more similar examples in 1QS have come to our notice: 9.16 **וְכֵן אֶהְבְּתוּ עִם שְׁנֵאתוֹ**; 9.21 **אֵלֶּה תְּכֻנֵּי הַדֶּרֶךְ לְמִשְׁכִּיל בְּעֵתִים הָאֵלֶּה לְאַהֲבַתּוֹ עִם שְׁנֵאתוֹ**.

1QS 3.15 **כֹּל הוּיָהּ וְנִהְיָה** The first verb may be read **הוּיָהּ** as indicated by Qimron (1979). In 1QS we find three feminine plural participles used substantivally with the force of neuter, and here too we may take both as fem. participles.⁴² But at CD 2.10 with a similar collocation there is unmistakably a gender distinction: **הֵיוּ עֹלָמִים וְנִהְיָה עַד**.⁴³

The difference in binyanim is often taken to indicate a tense or time distinction, e.g. "all that is occurring and shall occur" (Charlesworth). The difference is rather between stative, "to be," and fientive, "to become," well put by Lohse as "alles Sein und Geschehen." The LXX at Ben Sira 48.28, **τὰ ἐστῶντα** for **נִהְיָה**, does not necessarily disprove this analysis.

1QS 3.16 **וְאֵין לְהִשְׁנוֹת** Wernberg-Møller (1957:69) holds that the infinitive is either Ni. or Hith. with intransitive force. It is simpler to take it as Hi. with transitive force. Though no Hi. of the verb is attested in BH, it is clearly such in 1QH 15.14 **וְאֵיכָה יֻכַּל כֹּל לְהִשְׁנוֹת אֶת דְּבָרֵיכָה**. See also Dan. 6.9, **לֹא לְהִשְׁנִיָּה**.⁴⁴

³⁹ Qimron, *ib.*, gives the statistics as 15 as against ca. 70. In Qimron 1976 his exhaustive list mentions only 7 cases of the short morpheme.

⁴⁰ Pace Hurvitz 1982:25 the long morpheme cannot be due to Aramaic influence, for Aramaic, unlike Hebrew, knows only the short morpheme.

⁴¹ Most recently on this question, see Metso 1997:135-40.

⁴² 1.8 **הַנְּגִלוֹת**; 5.10 **הַנְּסִתְרוֹת**; 10.24 **נִפְתָּלוֹת**. See Muraoka 1999 (forthcoming).

⁴³ An alternative reading **נִהְיָה** (sg.) makes no material difference.

⁴⁴ Kutscher 1964:126.

1QS 3.16 **כול בידו משפט**] The literal rendering “the laws of all things” (e.g. Vermes) is vague. It is rather about the laws or decisions made about all things or people, their destiny or lot. Similarly “the laws governing all things” (Wise) or “die Satzungen für alles” (Lohse).⁴⁵ That the notion of decision or judgement is there is apparent from 1QS 10.18 **את אל משפט כול** **בידו משפט כול** **חי ואמת כול** following upon ib. 16 **כול** **חי ואמת כול** **משי**.

1QS 3.17 **והואה יכלכלם בכול חפציהם**] The prominence on “He” is also evident in the word-order of the preceding clause: **בידו משפט כול**. The verb refers to tangible, practical support such as sustaining with food as at Gen. 47.12, for instance, not merely moral support. Though there is no other example of complementation with the preposition Beth, the following noun **חפציהם** means “their desires, needs”⁴⁶ rather than “their affairs” (Wernberg-Møller) or “ihre Geschäfte” (Lohse). On this particular sense of the noun, see 1Kg 10.13 “the king Solomon gave the queen of Sheba everything she desired (**כל חפצה**).” Particularly relevant is 1QH 9.34-36 “until old age you sustain me (**תכלכלני**)... you are a father to all children of your truth and you rejoice over them as a mother who shows affection for her infant, and as a foster-father you sustain (**תכלכל**)... all your creatures.” The preposition is instrumental. BH uses the verb with double objects as in 1Kg 18.4, 13 **כל־כֶּלֶם לֶחֶם וּמִים**, which the Targum, however, translates as **סוברנון בלחמא ובמאי**.

1QS 3.18 **בם**] = **בשתי רוחות**. On the neutralisation of the gender distinction *-m* vs. *-n*, see Qimron 1986:63, n. 79, where the use of *-m* for 3f.pl. is characterised as a late feature. The neutralisation is also extended to independent personal pronouns, e.g. 1QpHab 12.8 **חמס ארץ המה ערי יהודה**.⁴⁷ Here, however, **הנה** follows immediately: **הנה רוחות האמת והעול**.

רוחות האמת והעול] The opposition of **אמת** and **עול** appears to be unique. It occurs also at 4.23 **רוחי אמת ועול**. An antonym that naturally springs to one’s mind is **שקר** as at Pr 12.19. That the opposition was not totally foreign can be seen at Ml 2.6 **נמצא בשפתיו לא נמצא בפיהו ועולה לא נמצא**. Note further an opposition between **אמת** and **עולה** at 1QS 4.17, 20-21.

The fact that **אמת** is opposed to **עול** indicates that the emphasis is on morality and ethics rather than purely intellectual truth, right conduct in conformity with correct teaching and doctrine. This is manifest in the se-

⁴⁵ Wernberg-Møller’s (1957:69) “qualities, characters” is far-fetched, which is not, *pace* Wernberg-Møller, the meaning of the word at Jdg 13.12, for instance. Cf. also Licht 1965:91.

⁴⁶ On the semantic link between ‘desire’ and ‘need,’ see the range of meanings of Engl. *want* and Syr. *b’ā* ‘to desire, wish’ and *metb’e* ‘necessary, needed.’

⁴⁷ This is a better example than ib. 4 **יהודה פתאי** mentioned by Qimron (1986:58), albeit with a question mark, for the pronoun may be in agreement with **יהודה**.

quel where ממשלת בני עול (21) is in contrast to ממשלת בני צדק (20). The rendering “deceit” (Wernberg-Møller and Charlesworth) is therefore unsatisfactory, though a synonym עֲוֹלָה is in opposition to שָׁקֵר at Is 59.3. Cf. John 3.21 ὁ δὲ ποιῶν τὴν ἀληθείαν ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸ φῶς.

[במעין אור תולדות האמת וממקור חושך תולדות העול] Note the opposition יבוש מקורו Hos 13.15 vs. מעין vs. מקור. For another opposition, -מ- and -ב- יִחַרְבּ מַעֲיָנוּ.

[תעות] an error which leads to wrong deeds: cf. 1John 4.6 ἐκ τούτου γινώσκασμεν τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πλάνης. On the morphology of the word, Qimron (1985:66) lists this word among previously unattested abstract nouns with -ת-, though this pattern itself is already attested in Early BH, cf. JM 1993: §88M j.⁴⁹

1QS 3.23 [ממשלת משטמתו] Note that this rare noun, מִשְׁטָמָה, occurs in BH only at Hos. 9.7f. and the notion of visitation and retribution as perceived by our author is clearly based on Hos 9.7, as indicated above.

1QS 3.24 [וכול רוחי גורלו להכשיל בני אור] “and all the spirits of his lot (are out there) to fail sons of light.” Licht justly mentions Is 38.20 יהוה לְהוֹשִׁיעֵנוּ as an example of the syntax of the infinitive as used here.⁵⁰

1QS 3.25 [עליהון] The suffix refers to (אור וחושך) רוחות. The fem. form instead of -הן- is said by Qimron (1985:63) to be “merely a phonological variant” of the latter. Qimron mentions only two examples of the 3fpl suf. spelled -הון-, the second being 4Q176 xx 3, though the *editio princeps* (DJD V:65) reads עליהם, a plene spelling, which incidentally could apply here, too. Along with Licht (1965:93) we would rather see here an Aramaism.

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⁴⁸ There is no need to invoke, as Wernberg-Møller does (1957:70), Ugaritic, which does not possess *mn*: cf. Sivan 1997:196-97.

⁴⁹ The parallelism with אשמתם, עוונותם, חטאתם, and פשעי מעשיהם favours this interpretation over against Wernberg-Møller's (1957:71), according to which תעות is an inf. const.

⁵⁰ Wernberg-Møller (1957:72) refers to Segal's MH grammar, where, however, the latter is dealing with an unrelated phenomenon.

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המתנדבים

BY

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1. Introduction

Discussion of **המתנדבים** in the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) has been focused mainly on the structure of the Qumran Community; namely, whether the term refers to the Community as a whole or to a particular sub-group within it, such as full-fledged members in contrast to probationers.¹ The sociological importance of this question might be responsible for what seems to be a neglect of the syntactic and semantic aspects of the lexeme. As a matter of fact, the definitions found in the Biblical Hebrew (BH) lexicons are not easily applied to Qumran Hebrew (QH). For example, the predominant BH meaning of “to make an offering” is noticeably absent in the DSS. Some scholars have understood the BH verb primarily to mean “to volunteer,” perhaps originally as a technical term related to holy war in the OT (Polzin 1976:135f.) or as a cultic term related to voluntary services associated with the Temple (Koehler-Baumgartner [KB³] *s.v.*; Hurvitz 1974:29n.10), and others have attempted to combine both of these ideas in QH (Fitzgerald 1974:498; Martone 1995:145n.104). It must be admitted that the notion of “volunteer” is indeed suitable in some instances in QH (though only rarely in BH), yet it is also occasionally awkward.² A closer examination of this lexeme is clearly in order.³

¹ See e.g. Dupont-Sommer (1950:19), Wernberg-Møller (1957:46), Licht (1966:108f.), Leaneay (1966:168), Knibb (1987:79).

² For QH see 2.1 below. Brown-Driver-Briggs (BDB) *s.v.* refers to Ju 5.2, 9; 2 C 17.16; and Neh 11.2 for the meaning “volunteer” in BH, to which KB³ adds Ezr 2.68. Joüon points out, however, that the context in Ju 5 and 2 C 17.16 is obscure and is of little help in determining the meaning of the verb (1935:423). In Ezr 2.68 the verb certainly means “to make offerings” (note the list in v.69). Neh 11.2 is the only clear example where the more common meaning is precluded by the context.

³ Included in this study are the following occurrences of the *hithpael* participle of **נָדַב** in QH: 1QpMic (1Q14) 10.7; 1QS 5.1, 6, 8, 10, 21, 22, 6.13 (and the parallel passages in 4QS^d [4QS258]). There are a number of restorations in the Cave 4 manuscripts which, though likely, are textually uncertain and hence are excluded from this study, as is the restoration in 1Q31 1.1. The *niphal* participles in 1QS 1.7 and 11 will be included since a number of verbs occur in the DSS in both the *niphal* and the *hithpael* without any apparent difference in meaning (Qimron 1986:49).

2. Analysis

It is striking that only the participle is attested in QH. It occurs in 1QS 5.8 without any complement whatsoever, thus functioning as a pure nominal: *יבוא בברית אל לעיני כול המתנדבים ויקם על נפשו* “[He] shall enter into the covenant of God in the sight of all המתנדבים, and he shall take upon his soul...” BH attests a substantival participle as well,⁴ but in contrast to QH, התנדב also occurs in the suffix conjugation, *wayyiqtol*,⁵ infinitive, and participle (predicative as well as substantival). Another obvious difference between QH and BH is that the latter attests a transitive use of the verb: Ezr 3.5 *ולכל מתנדב נדבה ליהוה* “and [the burnt offerings] belonging to everyone who offered a freewill offering to YHWH” and 1 C 29.17 *אני בישר* “I have offered all these things in the uprightness of my heart.”⁶

BH and QH usage may be further compared with reference to the following complements:⁷

2.1. *With preposition*

In the DSS the participle is complemented by the preposition *lamedh* in 1QS 1.11 *לכול המתנדבים לקודש באהרון ולבית האמת* 5.6 *וכול הנדבים לאמתו* and 5.10 *המתנדבים יחד לאמתו*. García-Martínez translates 5.6 as “who freely volunteer for holiness in Aaron” and 5.10 as “the men...who

⁴ Ju 5.9 *המתנדבים בעם*. The ב is locative (BDB s.v. ב, I 2) and is not a complement of התנדב.

⁵ 1 C 29.6, printed erroneously in BDB s.v. without the inersive *waw*.

⁶ But not in 1 C 29.5-6, which KB³ lists as “c. acc.” Hurvitz (1974:29n.12) argues that the transitive use is a late one, yet with the exception of Ju 5, התנדב occurs only in late BH (Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles), and this seems like a rather small basis for comparison.

⁷ We are primarily interested in the distinctive syntagmatic relations of the verb. Therefore we exclude from our study such adverbials as 1QS 5.10 *יחד* (see n.10 on *ביחד* in 5.21-22) and in BH: 1 C 29.9 *בלב שלם*, 14 *כזאת*, 17 *בישר לבבי*, 17 *בשמחה*. We also exclude BH uses of the infinitive construct as a substantive (1 C 29.9; Ezr 1.6 [erroneously cited as 1.4 in BDB]) and with the preposition *beth* in a temporal clause (Ju 5.2). See Muraoka (1997:101-106) for a discussion of verb complementation in relation to the nominal/verbal character of the participle. Note further that we have opted consistently to translate the participles in the present tense, though we have done so only to simplify the discussion. The Qumran examples, being non-predicative participles, are dependent on the context for their temporal reference (Joüon-Muraoka [JM] § 121i), and in this connection it is interesting to note the tenses in various translations: 1QS 1.1 “who have freely devoted themselves” (Vermes 1995:70); 5.21-22 “nach Weisung der Söhne Aarons, die sich willig erwiesen haben...nach Weisung der Menge Israels, die sich willig erwiesen haben” (Lohse 1986:21; also Knibb 1987:112). See Kesterson 1984:182-190 for examples of attributive participles in QH with past, pluperfect, and present perfect sense.

In IQS 6.13-14 **יִשְׂרָאֵל** the preposition **מִן** is partitive and should not be considered as a complement of our verb: “and all those from Israel who devote themselves...” **בִּיחָד** in IQS 5.21 is probably a locative expression and not a verbal complement (cf. n.4).¹⁰

⁸ Sic – Probably a misprint for “his.”

¹⁰ Note that 4QSD^a 2.1 omits **בִּיחַד** entirely. The majority of translations and commentaries take this as a locative phrase, which is certainly possible here, yet it might be preferable to take it adverbially. The same expression occurs in the following line, where a locative sense is extremely odd. Lohse translates 5.22 as “die sich willig erwiesen haben, umzukehren in der Gemeinschaft zu seinem Bund” (1986:21; cf. Wernberg-Möller 1957:29 and García-Martínez 1996:9). But **לְבִיחַדוֹ** is already a locative complement of **שׁוּב**, and it is difficult to understand precisely what a second one would mean. Charlesworth (1994:25) appears to take it in an instrumental sense (“to return to his covenant through the Community”), which still sounds strange. Such a combination of these two prepositions with **שׁוּב** would be most unique in QH (see Muraoka 1997:143), and therefore an adverbial interpretation such as “ensemble” (van der Ploeg 1951:120) or “en commun” (Dupont-Sommer 1987:24; Pouilly 1976:121f.) might be preferable.

¹¹ See BDB *s.v.* לָ, 1 b on *lamedh* with verbs of sacrificing.

¹² It makes little difference whether one understands the infinitival phrase to mean “to consecrate” (so Japhet 1993:501; BDB *s.v.* מלא; but cf. *s.v.* די, 1c) or “to fill one’s hands [with gifts]” (so Gesenius-Buhl, *s.v.* מלא, 1 b; KB³ *s.v.* מלא; see also the note on this verse in the *Einheitsübersetzung*), although we think the latter idiom unlikely, since the former is well-attested and fits the other alleged instances of the latter (Ex 32.29; 2 C 29.31). In either case יהוה is not a complement of the participle but rather of the infinitive; cf. 2 C 29.31 עתה יהוה יאמר “Now you have consecrated yourselves to YHWH” and Ex 32.29 ויאמר יהוה “And Moses said, ‘Consecrate yourselves to YHWH today.’”

על-מכונו "[Some of the heads of families...] made freewill offerings for the house of God, to erect it on its site" (RSV).

In BH the preposition is usually followed by a personal object, whereas in QH one finds abstract nouns ("truth," "holiness"). It is interesting that *לבית* occurs in Ezr. 2.68 and 1QS 5.6, yet despite the similarity it should be pointed out that in BH the verb refers to making offerings, which is not the case in QH.

2.2. *With ל + infinitive*

1QpMic 10.7 אל בחירי "and to all those who devote themselves to being joined to the chosen ones of [God];"¹³ 1QS 1.7-8 אל כול הנדבים לעשות חוקי אל "all those who devote themselves to practicing the statutes of God;" 5.9-10 ברצונו ולחתלכ "those who devote themselves together to his truth and to walking in his will;" 5.21-22 חוקי את כול בריתו ולפקוד את כול חוקי "those in the Community who devote themselves to establishing his covenant and to observing all his statutes;" 5.22 לשוב "those who devote themselves to returning;"¹⁴ 6.13-14 וכול המתנדב מישראל להוסיף על עצת היחד "and everyone from Israel who devotes himself to being joined"¹⁵ to the counsel of the Community."

There is some ambiguity in 1QS 5.1 לשוב "those who devote themselves to being joined." מכול רע ולהחזיק בכול אשר צוה לרצונו להבדל מעדת אנשי העול להיות ליחד. As Wernberg-Møller (1957:88f.) points out, it is not entirely certain whether the infinitive לשוב is to be interpreted as injunctive (Dupont-Sommer 1950:16, but cf. 1987:22) or whether it is governed by the participle, so that the injunctive section begins with להבדל.¹⁶ A third option is taken by Lambert, who translates all of the infinitives as governed by the participle: "Et voici la règle pour les hommes de la communauté, ceux qui

¹³ See Qimron (1986:48) on the omission of *he* in the *niphal*, *hithpaal*, and *hiphil* infinitive.

¹⁴ Note the parallel 4QS^d 2.2 (=1QS 5.22-23) המתנדבים לשוב ביחד ולהכתב. It would be possible to take the second infinitive here as a complement of the participle, but a comparison with 1QS 5.22-23 לשוב לבריתו וכתבם "those who devote themselves together (cf. n.10) to return to his covenant. And one shall register them..." suggests that Charlesworth is correct in taking the infinitive ולהכתב as injunctive: "the multitude of Israel who dedicate themselves to return... And each is to be registered..." (1994:75; cf. García-Martínez 1996:22).

¹⁵ The infinitive is *niphal* (so Licht 1966:149; Lohse 1986:22); cf. 1QpMic 10.7. The use of *yodh* in the DSS to indicate the vowel "e" is well-attested (Qimron 1986:19f.; Kutscher 1974:154f.).

¹⁶ This appears to be the majority view: Leahy (1960:139f.), Leaney (1966:161), Kesterson (1984:247), Knibb (1987:104), Charlesworth (1994:19), Vermes (1995:75).

veulent généreusement se retirer de tout mal et s'attacher à tout ce qu'il a ordonné, suivant son bon plaisir, ceux qui veulent se séparer (להבדל) de l'assemblée des hommes de perversité et former (להיות) une communauté" (1951:962f.). This is a possible interpretation, but nowhere else in the DSS does המתנדבים govern so many infinitives. We would also point out that an infinitival complement of המתנדבים has the copula *waw* when it follows another complement (1QS 5.10 לאמתו ולהתלכ and 5.21-22 להקים את בריתו), and the lack of the copula before להבדל makes Lambert's view less likely. The similarity to the opening of the Community Rule, which also begins directly with injunctive infinitives, speaks in favour of the first option, as does the absolute use of the participle in 1QS 5.8. Wernberg-Møller prefers the second option since לשוב is clearly governed by the participle in 5.22. This argument is only valid for 1QS, however, as in 4QS^g (4QS261) 2.1 (=1QS 5.22) the infinitive is not לשוב but rather לישבת¹⁷ and in 4QS^d a different *binyan* is used (להשיב). The two infinitival phrases express rather different ideas (1QS 5.1 לשוב מכול רע as against 5.22 לשוב ביחד (לבריתו)), which also diminishes the value of the parallel. On the other hand, המתנדבים occurs much more often with an infinitival complement than as a pure nominal, which makes the view of Wernberg-Møller *et al* statistically more probable.

Muraoka's examination of subordinate and non-subordinate infinitives in column I of the Community Rule showed that, except for the first of the series, non-subordinate (i.e. injunctive) infinitives consistently had the copula *waw* attached, while subordinate ones lacked the copula (1996:575f.). This does not settle the matter entirely in 1QS 5, unfortunately, because לשוב would lack the copula in either case and its presence with ולהחזיק is to be expected since these two infinitives form a unit. If לשוב is taken injunctively, and the pattern established by Muraoka also holds in 1QS5, then the infinitives להבדל and להיות would have to be interpreted as subordinate. This is not so difficult with להיות (e.g. Charlesworth 1994:19 "in order to become a Community;" likewise Dupont-Sommer 1950:16 and García-Martínez 1996:8), but commentators are generally agreed in taking להבדל as injunctive (non-subordinate). It does seem possible to interpret it epexegetically, however: "They shall turn (לשוב) from all evil and hold fast (ולהחזיק) to all which he has commanded in accordance with his will, by separating (להבדל) from the congregation of unrighteous men in order to become (להיות)..."

The situation is further complicated by the parallel passage in 4QS^d 1.1-2 מדרש למשכיל על אנשי התורה המתנדבים להשיב מכל רע ולהחזיק בכל אשר

¹⁷ Assuming the participle should be restored to the gap in the text.

צוה ולבדל מעדת אנשי העול ולהיות יחד.¹⁸ Note that the infinitive here is **ולבדל** (cf. n.13) instead of **להבדל**. If this is the beginning of the injunctives (as translated by Vermes 1991:252 and 1995:90, Charlesworth 1994:73, and García-Martínez 1996:22), it is surprising that the infinitive which begins the series has the copula (unlike 1QS 1.1). This could favour Dupont-Sommer's earlier view; yet note also that 4QSD 1.2 adds the *waw* to the following infinitive (**ולהיות** vs. 1QSD 5.2 **להיות**) which could support Lambert's view that all of the infinitives are complements of the participle. The difficulty is that the infinitive (**להבדל** / **ולבדל**) seems to be subordinate in 1QSD 5 but non-subordinate in 4QSD. It thus appears that either the pattern established by Muraoka does not apply to this column in one (or both) of these manuscripts or else that there is a difference in meaning between them. This latter option is quite possible (see Mesto 1997:76-90; Charlesworth-Strawn 1996:405-410), though at present it is difficult to make a firm decision.

There is similar complementation in Neh 11.2 **ויברכו העם לכל האנשים** "And the people blessed all the men who willingly offered to live in Jerusalem" (RSV). An infinitive follows **התנדב** in two other cases in BH, yet upon closer examination one finds that the similarity to QH is only apparent. In 1 C 29.5 **ומי מתנדב למלאות ידו היום ליהוה** (ו) we think unlikely that the infinitival phrase is governed by the participle.¹⁹ **התנדב** means "to make an offering" in all its occurrences in this chapter, not "to volunteer" or "to be willing," and it is preferable to maintain the same meaning in v.5. That being the case, it is difficult to see how the infinitive could be governed by the participle. Instead we interpret it as epexegetical, as the RSV (see 2.1 above). A similar problem is posed by Ezr 2.68 **(התנדבו לבית האלהים להעמידו על-מכנו)**, but if the verb refers to making offerings (see n.2) then it is again difficult to see how the infinitive could be a complement of the verb. The RSV's rendering of the infinitive as an expression of purpose (see 2.1 above) is preferable.

In this respect we find a marked difference between BH and QH. In the former there appears to be only one clear case of **התנדב** governing an infinitival phrase, whereas in the latter, even allowing for some debated instances, there is a much higher percentage of such complements.

¹⁸ Pace the preliminary publication by Vermes (1991:251), the text of 4QSD 1.1 actually reads **המתנדבים**, though Charlesworth-Strawn are surely correct in calling this a scribal error for **המתנדבים** (1996:410n.24; cf. Mesto 1997:41).

¹⁹ Pace e.g. KB³, the Einheitsübersetzung ("Wer ist nun bereit, seine Hand ebenso für den Herrn zu füllen?") and the New International Version ("Now, who is willing to consecrate himself today to the Lord?").

3. Conclusion

We have already drawn attention to the primary differences between the syntax of התנדב in BH and QH: the former attests a transitive use in contrast to the latter; in the former the verb rarely governs an infinitival phrase, whereas this is much more common in the latter; and there is a difference in the sorts of objects governed by the preposition *lamedh* (usually YHWH in BH, abstract objects in QH).

Although the amount of data is not extremely large, some signs of semantic development between late BH and QH are discernible.²⁰ In BH the predominant meaning is “to make an offering,” with an accusative object explicitly mentioned in some cases, or with an offering understood in those cases where none is mentioned (e.g. 1 C 29.6). The use of the preposition *lamedh* in most cases favours viewing it as a term of sacrifice and offering (see n.11), rather than as a term of volunteering. In Neh 11.2 the verb appears to mean “to offer [oneself],” viz. to an activity, and if this is the meaning in 2 C 17.16 then it can also be used in reference to a personal object (God). This is the only meaning so far attested in the DSS. The absence of the notion of making an offering is not extremely surprising since cultic offerings were not made at Qumran. The verb thus indicates an attitude of willingness or devotion in QH (but not precisely “volunteering” *per se*, as argued above), either in regard to an activity or to an abstract object. We note that in Rabbinic literature the more concrete notion of making offerings still seems to be predominant,²¹ which makes the specialized usage in QH all the more striking.

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 ———, and B. Strawn, “Reflections on the Text of Serek Ha-Yahad Found in Cave IV” *RQ*, 65-68 (1996), pp.403-435.

²⁰ Leaving aside Ju 5.2 and 9 due to its obscurity (cf. n.2). Qimron (1976:295) suggests that this could be an ancient Aramaism. On the other hand, Joüon (1935:423n.4) thinks that (Biblical) Aramaic borrowed the term from Hebrew.

²¹ See Jastrow *s.v.* and Hurvitz (1974:30f.).

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THE "ARCHAIC" POETRY OF THE PENTATEUCH IN THE MT, SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH AND 4QEXOD^c

BY

IAN YOUNG

1. Some Previous Discussions of the Archaic Poetry.

There are a number of extended pieces of poetry embedded in the Pentateuch (Gen 49; Exod 15; Num 23-24; Deut 32, 33). A prominent characteristic of most of these texts is the concentration of what seem to be archaic linguistic elements in them. These archaic linguistic features were dealt with extensively in a fine study by D. A. Robertson.¹ While expressing reservations, Robertson suggested that the archaic forms could be used as evidence for dating the texts early.² Interestingly, however, he found that only Exod 15 in the whole Biblical literature used a significant clustering of archaic language features to the exclusion of their later, standard poetic Hebrew equivalents.³ The other Pentateuch poems exhibited either a mixture of a clustering of archaic features alongside their standard equivalents (Num 23-24; Deut 32, 33),⁴ or exhibited no clustering of archaic forms significantly greater than that found in standard poetry (Gen 49).⁵

More recently, the present author has moved away from viewing the archaisms as primary evidence for dating these texts.⁶ As Robertson himself was aware, even the exclusive use of archaisms in Exod 15 need not be seen as compelling evidence for an early date for the poem, rather than, say, highly successful archaizing by a late author.⁷ Furthermore, the poetry of Job is one of those which Robertson rates early on the basis of its clustering of archaisms; yet, investigation of the prose framework by A. Hurvitz has

¹ D. A. Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry*, Missoula 1972. Robertson of course dealt with more than the Pentateuch poetry, but we have restricted ourselves here to the Pentateuch since we possess a variety of Hebrew witnesses to it.

² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 138, 155. Note that Robertson includes Deut 33 here also.

⁶ I. Young, "The Style of the Gezer Calendar and Some 'Archaic Biblical Hebrew' Passages," *VT*, 42 (1992), pp. 368-374; idem, *Diversity in Pre-Exilic Hebrew*, Tübingen 1993, pp. 122-130.

⁷ Robertson, *op.cit.* (n.1), p. 2.

demonstrated significant links with Late (i.e. post-exilic) Biblical Hebrew.⁸ Finally, it was argued in my previous study that the mixture of archaic and standard linguistic features in the present text of most poems is best seen as evidence that the archaisms appear due to stylistic choice, rather than chronological necessity. Thus, it is better to designate Archaic Biblical Hebrew (ABH) as a style, not a chronological phase. In fact, when we become less fixated with the archaisms in the poems, it can be seen that the poems also are characterized by the appearance of dialectal linguistic forms alongside the archaic forms.⁹ Thus ABH was described in my previous studies as a style of poetry characterized by a greater openness to variations in linguistic forms than is the case in standard poetry, whether these variant forms be archaisms or dialectal forms.¹⁰

The purpose of the present article is to point out how a consideration of the history of the Biblical text complicates the discussion of ABH poetry. The studies just discussed¹¹ quite naturally have been based on the received texts of the Pentateuch poems. A basic methodological question is, nevertheless, the issue of how reliably the current distribution of archaisms in our texts reflects the most ancient version of our poems. Was Exodus 15 always the only one of the corpus to exhibit consistent use of archaisms? Was Genesis 49 composed without significant archaizing or could this possibly be a result of the later scribal transmission of this chapter? Robertson indeed was aware of the textual evidence available to him when he wrote his study.¹² Yet it was not his primary purpose to search for clues to the scribal processes that have produced the current forms of our texts. Furthermore, new textual evidence has become available with the publication of new Qumran evidence since Robertson's monograph. Therefore in this study our task is to investigate the available Hebrew texts of the five extensive Pentateuch poems. By analyzing their variations from each other in the distribution of the archaic linguistic forms, we will hopefully gain some clues (albeit from the last phases) as to the scribal processes which have shaped our current texts.

⁸ A. Hurvitz, "The Date of the Prose-Tale of Job Linguistically Reconsidered," *HTR*, 67 (1974), pp. 17-34. It is hard to see how the poetic section could have had a meaningful existence without the prose. Cf. Young, *art.cit.* (n.6), p. 370 n.34.

⁹ Young, *art.cit.* (n.6), pp. 371-374. Indeed, dialect forms often represent the retention of an archaic feature superseded in the standard dialect.

¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 374. Cf. also P. Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy 32* (OTS 37), Leiden/New York/Köln 1996, p. 320.

¹¹ As well as the works of the other scholars discussed by Robertson and Young in their respective works.

¹² E. g. Robertson, *op.cit.* (n.1), pp. 34-37, 51. Robertson also discussed the parallel texts 2 Sam 22 = Ps 18, and the evidence from the ancient versions, specifically the LXX.

2. The Samaritan Pentateuch

The Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) has of course been known for some time, and was not completely neglected by Robertson, who often shows a commendable grasp of the textual issues.¹³ The Samaritan text is of interest for students of the Hebrew language in two ways. First of all, it may preserve readings different to the MT which more closely reflect the original language of the Biblical text. Secondly, even in variants which are to be judged less original than the MT, the SP is important for allowing us an insight into the scribal processes which have contributed to the current form of not only itself, but also the MT. On balance, it seems fair to say that in the majority of cases the variants of the SP in our five chapters fit into the second category rather than the first. In terms of language features, the SP regularly displays standard linguistic features where the MT has archaic or otherwise unusual items.¹⁴ Nevertheless, one should not let this become an excuse merely to ignore the SP. Even if the majority of variants be deemed inferior when compared to the MT, this does not automatically mean that all Samaritan variants are necessarily inferior. Every single variant in the Samaritan text needs to be evaluated, not instantly assumed to be due to late editing of the text.¹⁵ As is clear from the Qumran scrolls, the SP is in almost every detail a very ancient text.¹⁶ In any case, as stated above, one may learn much about scribal processes in general even from those instances where the SP is judged to be inferior in originality to the MT.

Scholars working with the ABH poems have long realized that one tendency in the scribal transmission of the texts is to edit out the unusual linguistic items generally in favour of their standard equivalents (see the examples below). Besides the SP, the parallel texts 2 Sam 22 = Ps 18 have been important in demonstrating this process.¹⁷ One should note, however, that

¹³ *Ibid.*, e.g. pp. 29-38.

¹⁴ A good discussion with numerous examples is in B. K. Waltke, "The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Text of the Old Testament," in J. B. Payne (ed.), *New Perspectives on the Old Testament*, Waco 1970, pp. 213-217. Cf. idem, *Prolegomena to the Samaritan Pentateuch* (unpublished PhD thesis), Harvard 1965, pp. 285-294.

¹⁵ This is a similar approach to that adopted by those recently dealing with more general problems of textual criticism, e.g. E. Tov, "Criteria for Evaluating Textual Readings: The Limitations of Textual Rules," *HTR*, 75 (1982), p. 435; idem, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, Minneapolis and Assen/Maastricht 1992, pp. 298-299; F. M. Cross, "Problems of Method in the Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible," in W. D. O'Flaherty (ed.), *The Critical Study of Sacred Texts*, Berkeley, CA 1979, p. 54.

¹⁶ Tov, *op.cit.* 1992 (n.15), pp. 80-100.

¹⁷ F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18," *JBL*, 72 (1953), pp. 15-34, esp. pp. 15-19; D. N. Freedman, "Archaic Forms in Early Hebrew Poetry," *ZAW*, 72 (1960), pp. 101-107; Robertson, *op.cit.* (n.1), esp. pp. 34-36, 51.

since we are far removed from the autograph copy of these texts, we have no absolute proof that this was the direction of the development. It can admittedly be argued, with a fair degree of cogency, that it is easier to understand how later scribes would have replaced unusual linguistic items with standard ones than the reverse. Nevertheless, we simply do not know that, in fact, the reverse process did not at any stage take place. A scribe, interested perhaps in introducing a measure of internal consistency to the text, could have edited out any residual standard forms to give the MT of Exod 15 its fully archaic nature. It would be naive to believe that the ancient scribes in general simply did not understand these archaic forms, and their potential to change the stylistic "feel" of a piece of "archaic" poetry.

Viewing our corpus of five texts as a whole it is almost always the case that where the SP exhibits a variant from the MT in the archaic linguistic items in these chapters that it is the SP which has the standard form, whereas the MT has the archaic.¹⁸ The majority of exceptions to this statement involve cases where the MT, particularly in Deut 32, reads a prefixed verbal form with *waw*-consecutive, while the Samaritan does not exhibit the *waw*, allowing the form to be interpreted as an archaic preterite verb.¹⁹ Thus, in Deut 32:15, the MT reads *wyšmn*, whereas the SP does not have the *waw*.

One of the few examples where the SP exhibits an archaism not in the MT, apart from those involving a conjunction, is Exod 15:11 where the SP reads *n'dry* with the so-called *hireq compaginis*, which the MT lacks. Note that both texts agree in reading the same form, with the *hireq* in verse 6. In interpreting this variation, one has an interesting choice. In view of the common explanation of such variants in modern scholarship one must favour the theory which states that it is easier to understand how a standard linguistic item was introduced to the text in place of an unusual form than the reverse process. Therefore, one sees that the MT has also to some extent been affected by the tendency to edit archaisms out of the text.²⁰ This was of course obvious already by comparison of the parallel texts within the MT itself, 2 Sam 22 = Ps 18. Another explanation is of course possible. This is that the SP has introduced the *hireq compaginis* in verse 11 on the analogy of the one in verse 6. Some scholars have indeed claimed that the SP in

¹⁸ As our base text we used the one recently published by A. Tal, *The Samaritan Pentateuch Edited According to MS 6 (c) of the Shekhem Synagogue*, Tel Aviv 1994 and consulted A. von Gall, *Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner*, Giessen 1918, for variants.

¹⁹ Robertson, *op.cit.* (n.1), pp. 36-38.

²⁰ Robertson, *op.cit.* (n.1), p. 70 n.1; idem, "The Morphemes -y (i) and -w (o) in Biblical Hebrew," *VT*, 19 (1969), p. 212 n.2 suggests "the Samaritan reading in Ex. xv 11 *n'dry* may well be correct."

general is aiming for a more consistent text.²¹ If this were the case it would be equally interesting, since it would demonstrate the idea suggested above, that scribes could, for various reasons, have introduced archaisms into the texts, rather than merely editing them out. However, utilizing this argument at this point, rather than anywhere else, seems too much like a tendentious favouring of the MT above all other texts, which is surely a dubious practice. There is no *a priori* reason why this one text should be seen as miraculously having been spared from the normal processes of scribal transmission. Even in the case of the MT Pentateuch, which is generally considered to be the best Pentateuch text in our possession, the MT can be shown to be subject to the same scribal processes as, for example, the SP, albeit to a lesser extent.²²

The fact that all our texts of these archaic poems very likely have experienced, to varying degrees, the same scribal processes, makes it even more interesting to investigate those cases where the SP is lacking an archaic form in comparison with the MT. While it has been often noted that the SP²³ seems to have edited out many of the archaisms present in the MT, it is interesting also to observe that this phenomenon exhibits some patterning. This is especially evident in regard to the most common morphological archaism, the third person masculine plural suffix *mô*.²⁴ This appears nine times in the MT of Exod 15, and all nine occurrences are reproduced in the SP.²⁵ The profile of Exod 15 as consistently preferring archaic over standard linguistic forms is hardly changed in the SP. Indeed, in the case of the relative pronoun *zw* in the MT of verses 13 and 16, one could say that the SP's *zh* is an improvement, since *zh* as a relative pronoun is never found in Robertson's corpus of standard poetry, whereas *zw* is.²⁶ Admittedly, one loses the archaic final *yod* of *yksymw* in verse 6 of many texts of the SP and

²¹ S. Talmon, "The Samaritan Pentateuch," *JJS*, 2 (1951), pp. 146-148; cf. Waltke, *art.cit.* (n.14), p. 219; idem, *op.cit.* 1965 (n.14), p. 298.

²² See the characterization of MT Exodus in J. E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran 4QpaleoExod^m and the Samaritan Tradition*, (HSS 30), Atlanta 1986, pp. 237-243. For comments of textual scholars disputing the uniqueness and centrality of the MT see, for example: Tov, *art.cit.* (n.15), pp. 435-436; idem, *op.cit.* 1992 (n.15), pp. 298-300; E. Ulrich, "The Biblical Scrolls From Qumran Cave 4: An Overview and a Progress Report on Their Publication," *RQ*, 14 (1989), p. 223.

²³ This term here should also be taken to include those Pre-Samaritan texts which shared the characteristics of the later SP.

²⁴ In Exod 15:5 in the MT also *mû*. Robertson, *op.cit.* (n.1), p. 66 n.5: "for reasons of euphony."

²⁵ Exod 15: 5, 7, 9, 9, 10, 12, 15, 17, 17. Outside this chapter in Exodus note that the unusual prose occurrence in Exod 23:31 is not reproduced in the SP.

²⁶ Robertson, *op.cit.* (n.1), pp. 62-65. Contra Waltke, *art.cit.* (n.14), p. 217; idem, *op.cit.* 1965 (n.14), p. 294.

gains an extra conjunction before the prefix verb *yrgzwn* in verse 14. In addition some other forms which have been construed as archaic, although not discussed by Robertson are lost e.g. *ymth* of the MT's verse 16.²⁷ Nevertheless, the archaic nature of Exod 15 is largely preserved in the SP. Indeed, quite apart from the case of relative *zh* just discussed, we have already seen that the SP has an extra archaism in verse 11 *n'dry*. Similarly, in Gen 49 and Num 23-24, chapters with many fewer archaic forms than Exod 15, the quota of archaisms in the SP does not change, except for a few cases of updating the archaic spelling of the third person masculine singular pronominal suffix with *he*.²⁸

When one turns to the SP version of Deut 32 and 33, however, the picture changes noticeably. Deut 32 is a chapter which in the MT contains a relatively large concentration of archaisms, albeit mixed in with their standard equivalents. Deut 33 exhibits fewer. The change is once again most noticeable in regard to the third person masculine plural pronominal suffix *mô*. In the MT this appears seven times in Deut 32, four times on nouns, twice on the preposition *lamed* and once on 'l. In the SP only three of these are present; the two on *lamed* and one on a noun. In general the shift is to *hm*.²⁹ When one considers that *lmw* is the only one of this group which appears in Robertson's corpus of standard poetry, we can see how dramatically the "clustering" of archaic forms in this chapter is reduced. Similarly, the single occurrence of *mô* in Deut 33:29 is represented as *m* in the SP. Overall, apart from those cases mentioned above where the SP lacks a *waw* on a prefix verb form, the variants in the SP in Deut 32 and 33 all represent loss of an archaism present in the MT.³⁰

The different treatments of the archaisms in the SP of Exod 15 and Deut 32 and 33 show us how unpredictable are the scribal processes which have shaped our texts. Even in the same textual "tradition" we have evidence of conservative treatment of these forms (Exod 15), alongside vigorous editing

²⁷ For the final *yod* in *yksymw* see the variation noted in von Gall, *op.cit.* (n.18), p. 145. For a recent discussion of *ymth* see A. Hurvitz, "Originals and Imitations in Biblical Poetry: A Comparative Examination of I Sam 2: 1-10 and Ps 113: 5-9," in A. Kort and S. Morschauser (eds.), *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry*, Winona Lake 1985, p. 119.

²⁸ Gen 49: 11, 11; Num 23:8. Von Gall's main text has *he* for the second example in Gen 49:11, but this may be an error, cf. Waltke, *art.cit.* (n.14), p. 214; idem, *op.cit.* 1965 (n.14), p. 286. Whether the form with *he* in the MT is always solely a reflection of orthographic practice may be debated, see, Young, *op.cit.* (n.6), pp. 105-106, 126.

²⁹ On nouns: Deut 32: 27, 32, 37, 38 — retained in 37 in the SP. On 'l: Deut 32:23. On *lamed*: Deut 32: 32, 35. In verse 27 the corresponding SP form is first person common plural *nw*. This may be a case of the confusion of *mem* with *nun-waw*, cf. Robertson, *op.cit.* (n.1), pp. 88-89.

³⁰ Note also: loss of enclitic *mem* in Deut 33:11 *mtnym*; of *hireq compaginis* in Deut 33: 16 *škeny*.

(Deut 32, 33). Yet even in Deut 32 the archaisms are not all removed in a consistent fashion. These observations apply even if we were to prefer the seemingly less likely alternative that the MT has *added* its extra archaisms in Deuteronomy.

Were we still only in possession of the MT and the SP as our representatives of Hebrew text traditions, we would have many questions about the evidence just presented. For example, we might wonder whether it is only the Samaritan tradition which is short of the archaisms which are present in the MT? Or was it a perceived difference between the suffix *mô* on verbal forms (Exod 15) as opposed to nouns (Deut 32, 33) which led to their different treatment in our texts? Qumran at least helps us to understand these issues more clearly.

3. 4QExod^c

Unfortunately, despite the promise of a multitude of Pentateuch texts among the Biblical texts from Qumran,³¹ the majority are too fragmentary to offer any useful clues to their treatment of the archaic forms being discussed here.³² The welcome exception, however, is 4QExod^c, published by J. E. Sanderson in DJD XII.³³ This text includes fragments of Exod 15: 9-21. Within these lines it agrees with the SP against the MT in having standard grammatical elements in some cases where the MT has forms considered as archaisms by some scholars e.g. it reads *'ymh* in verse 16.³⁴

Most interestingly, however, the Qumran text preserves four usages of the third person masculine plural suffix. These are treated rather extraordinarily. In verse 17 both examples of MT *mô* appear in 4QExod^c as ם, a shift precisely paralleled in the SP at Deut 33: 29. Even more interestingly, the two occurrences of *mô* in the MT in verses 12 and 15 appear as ם in

³¹ The interest here has been on those texts classified as Biblical, as opposed to e.g. citations of these texts in other literature. Biblical texts are conveniently listed in E. Ulrich, "An Index of the Passages in the Biblical Manuscripts From the Judean Desert (Genesis — Kings)," *DSD*, 1 (1994), pp. 113-129.

³² In regard to Deut 33, 4QDeut^b seems to be missing the enclitic *mem* in verse 11, in agreement with the SP (see note 30). The form *mn* in the same verse, which has been taken as the archaic interrogative *man* (Freedman, *art.cit.* [n.17], pp. 103-104), seems to be replaced by the negative *bl*. For discussion see J. A. Duncan, "New Readings for the 'Blessing of Moses' from Qumran," *JBL*, 114 (1995), pp. 273-290, esp. pp. 283-284.

³³ E. Ulrich, F. M. Cross, J. R. Davila, N. Jastram, J. E. Sanderson, E. Tov and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4 VII Genesis to Numbers* (DJD XII), Oxford 1994, pp. 97-125.

³⁴ Note, however, that 4QExod^c seems to agree with the MT against the SP in reading *zw* in verse 16. "The position of the ink trace remaining suggests that this MS read *zw* rather than *zh*": Sanderson, *op.cit.* (n.33), p. 119.

4QExod^c i.e. with final *mem* written medially. These are the only two examples noted where the scroll uses a final letter medially.³⁵ It would seem highly significant, therefore, that this phenomenon occurs precisely in relation to the variable spelling of the third person masculine plural pronominal suffix. A likely explanation of the peculiar spelling of these forms is that they are due to the insertion of a correction, either by the scribe himself or by a later hand. 4QExod^c exhibits a number of supralinear corrections.³⁶ It is possible that, *waw* being a small letter, the correction in this case was inserted directly into the text itself. The photographs do not provide a clue in this regard, since there is no evidence from them that, for example, the two words involved are abnormally close to their following words. However, one must repeat that *waw* is a small letter. If correction is the right explanation, it is interesting that the archaism was preserved in verses 12 and 15 in this way, while nothing was done about the two examples in verse 17. We must not assume, of course, that the manuscript from which 4QExod^c was copied, or toward which it was corrected, necessarily had *mw* in all four places. Possibly it only had it in verses 12 and 15, and thus the correction was done solely to bring the copy in line with this particular manuscript.

The editor of 4QExod^c, Sanderson, judges that the scroll lacks the major expansions which would provide the most tangible affiliation to the tradition represented by the SP. Sanderson's description of the smaller variants would seem to indicate that the scroll should be classified as "non-aligned" to the MT, SP or LXX traditions, agreeing at times with each of them, as well as preserving its own unique readings.³⁷ Thus it should be seen as an independent Hebrew witness to Exod 15 alongside the MT and SP. In line with this, we have already noted that its treatment of the archaisms in Exod 15 is quite different to that of the MT and the SP which largely agree with each other in the distribution of archaisms in this chapter. 4QExod^c parallels instead the SP version of Deut 32 and 33, with its dramatic reduction in the volume of archaisms. The fact that 4QExod^c has no close relationship with the SP shows that this treatment of the archaisms was not just a characteristic of the SP tradition alone.

The corrections in verses 12 and 15 of 4QExod^c, if correctly explained as such, can be understood as scribal interventions to negate the attempted deletion of archaisms found in the manuscript from which 4QExod^c was copied. That is, 4QExod^c lacks the archaisms of the MT and the SP because they have been edited out, a process which was corrected in the case

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 103. For "non-aligned" texts see Tov, *op.cit.* 1992 (n.15), pp. 116-117.

of some of them, but not all. Another possibility is that the archaisms were introduced into a text which did not previously have them on the basis of a different text than the one from which 4QExod^c was copied. Less likely, in view of the evidence of the MT and the SP, is the theory that the archaisms were introduced by a scribe without the authority of any other text. Of course, what we decide in this specific case does not prove that this reverse process, the addition of archaisms, did not ever happen at any stage in the history of these poems.

4. Conclusions

Consideration of the textual evidence is quite a sobering experience for the scholar investigating the language of archaic poetry. The texts in our possession already exhibit clearly what a tenuous link to the ancient language we have. We must consider also that our textual evidence is still extremely late when compared with the purported dates of these poems, a gap of something approaching a thousand years. What might have gone on in those intervening centuries? Investigation of the later texts can suggest possibilities, but provide no answer.

One point to note is the unpredictability of the processes we have observed. Presuming the overriding process is deletion of archaisms — even in the same text tradition we have the preservation of a large number (SP Exod 15), alongside the deletion of large numbers of them, albeit not consistently carried through (SP Deut 32, 33). It may be best to stress that a textual tradition is made up of individual books, each with its own unique textual prehistory. This is certainly observable in our current MT, which presents, for example, a mixture of expansionistic texts (e.g. Jeremiah) alongside relatively short, non-expansionistic texts (e.g. Pentateuch). Thus, it is quite plausible that one text tradition could have both texts which have had their archaisms treated conservatively (MT Exod 15), and almost completely edited out (MT Gen 49?). Between these two extremes the inconsistency of the treatment of the archaisms within the chapters themselves provides a possible explanation why so many texts are a mixture of archaisms alongside their standard equivalents (e.g. Deut 32).³⁸

³⁸ The haphazardness of the observable scribal processes is a counter to the argument of Sanders, *op.cit.* (n.10), p. 320: “The suggestion that the usual forms are due to modernizing in the course of the song’s transmission is not convincing. If certain forms were modernized, why did other morphological archaisms remain unscathed?” I have also used the same erroneous argument in *op.cit.* 1993 (n.6), p. 105.

The problem with all this is that we simply do not know anything certainly about the features of the original language of these texts. Especially if one grants the plausibility of the suggestion that some scribes may have added archaisms to the texts rather than only ever subtracting them, we cannot put our absolute faith in the current distribution of such forms in our texts.³⁹ This puts us in a considerable dilemma, since language scholarship must proceed on the basis of actual texts, not of reconstructed ones.⁴⁰ Perhaps the best we can do at the moment is to continue to analyze those texts we are fortunate enough to have, and simply lay even stronger emphasis than ever on the fact that our conclusions are on the basis of *the current texts only*.

³⁹ Note that Cross and Freedman, following Albright, suggested that the two occurrences of *mō* in Exod 15: 9 were added due to scribal misinterpretation of the originally purely consonantal *mem* (which they understood as enclitic): F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," *JNES*, 14 (1955), pp. 246-247.

⁴⁰ A. Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship Between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel A New Approach to an Old Problem*, Paris 1982, p. 19. Quoted with approval by G. A. Rendsburg, *Diglossia in Ancient Hebrew*, New Haven 1990, pp. 31-32. Cf also A. Hurvitz, *The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew* (Hebrew), Jerusalem 1972, pp. 182-184.

THE CANNIBAL WOMEN AND THEIR JUDGMENT BEFORE THE HELPLESS KING (2 Kings 6:24 ff.)^{*}

BY

MOSHE A. ZIPOR

I

One of the tasks of a king is to judge (שפט) his people.¹ This theme is reiterated many times in the Bible. It is also stated of God when the biblical narrator describes Him as king (מלך) e.g. Is. 33:22 (note also the verb “save” [hiph. ישע]; a characteristic verb which occurs in the context of the king who is called upon to render justice, as anon).

Various scriptural narratives actualize this aspect of the king’s duty, and we will confine ourselves here to those instances where the appeal is made and initiated by citizens: The judgment of Solomon in the case of the two harlots (I Kgs. 3:16-28); the case of the cannibal women (II Kgs. 6:26 ff.); the woman who came to the king to “appeal” (צעק) for her house and field (II Kgs. 8:3);² likewise the judgment on the fictitious case of the wise woman of Tekoah (II Sam. 14) and the son of the prophets who disguised himself as a warrior from whose custody a prisoner had escaped (I Kgs. 20:38ff.).³

^{*} The present paper is a revised and extended version of a lecture delivered at the sixth Annual Conference of Judea and Samaria Studies, Ariel 24.3.1996, published in Hebrew in *Monashtenu, College Yearbook* 10 (Rehovot 1996), 11-17.

¹ See I Sam. 8:5 ff. שפט in this and other contexts has many meanings; to lead, to deliver from an enemy and also to conduct lawsuits between man and his neighbours, in fact the differences are not so great, compare also צדקה whose Scriptural meaning is not confined to doing right and good but also is apposite to ישע e.g. Is. 61:10 מציל צדקה // מגדל ישע and 56:1 etc. See for example KBL s.v. צדקה. The salvation which is wrought in Israel — the people that is regarded as poor and hounded — is one of the manifestations of the divine act of justice. See also the use of the word משפט in this kind of context e.g. I Kgs. 8:44-45.

² In the case of Mephibosheth (II Sam. 19:25-31) it is apparent that the purpose of his coming to the king was to greet David returning from his wanderings and not to demand to render justice.

³ On the “juridical parable” see U. Simon, “The Poor Man’s Lamb. An Example of a Juridical Parable”, *Biblica* 48 (1967), pp. 202-242 (a Hebrew updated version in *Reading Prophetic Narratives* [The Biblical Encyclopaedia Library XV], Jerusalem — Ramat Gan 1997, Chapter Four, pp. 107-155; G. A. Yee, “A Form-Critical Study of Isaiah 5:1-7 as a Song and a Juridical Parable”, *CBQ* 43 (1981), pp. 30-40. For the case of the Tekoite woman as a part of a category of “women at court narratives” see: L. L. Lyke, *King David with Wise Woman of*

These stories are interlaced with a typical vocabulary: The appeal to the king is expressed with the use of **אל זעק / זעק, שוע, קרא אל**. Frequently the appeal is worded “save (hiph. **ישע**) O king!” People come to the site of the king to demand justice or waylay him on his journey and “cry out” to him. The king “hears” (**שמע**) the words of his subjects, renders their judgments (**שפט**) and saves (hiph. **ישע** or hiph. **נצל**) them (see e.g. II Sam. 14:16-17; and cf. 15:3).⁴

Similar vocabulary is also used when referring to God as a King who is summoned to save the helpless, e.g. Ps. 20:10, 74:12. His ears are towards to the righteous and miserable to deliver them from their troubles, (e.g. Ps. 34:16ff.).⁵ God brings salvation both because He is wise and because He is omnipotent. One may say, that the king only functions as substitute for God by saving the helpless.

It is significant that a number of these narratives revolve around complex judicial problems that are difficult to solve, of the kind Moses defined as “The case that is too hard for you, you shall bring to me” (Deut. 1:17; cf. Ex. 18:22,26; Deut. 17:8 ff.). The Tekoite woman posits before the king the dilemma of killing the murderer and the redeeming the blood at the price of the destruction of the only remaining son of the complaining woman and the cessation of her seed.⁶ The warrior, I Kgs. 20:38 ff. (who is a disguised prophet) cries out to the king to save him — in the framework of the law, no doubt — from the impending consequence of his action, “your life shall be for his life”.⁷ It is possible that in cases (genuine!) of this kind, the suppliants tried at the beginning to receive aid at lower judiciary levels (e.g. local court) and only turned to the king himself out of anguish.⁸

In order to do justice, there is need for wisdom and sagacity. It is no wonder that when God asks Solomon in a dream what he desires, Solomon’s only request is “an understanding mind to govern thy people, that I

Tekoa. The Resonance of Tradition in Parabolic Narrative. The Multivocal Quality of 2 Samuel 14 as a Result of the Historical and Social Process that Formed the Hebrew Bible [JSOT Suppl. Series 256], Sheffield 1997.

⁴ This is also an example of democratic values in ancient Israel: Everyone, even from the lowest ranks of society (as the harlots in I Kgs. 3), had access to the king to demand justice.

⁵ Note that the description in vv. 18-21 refers to the righteous man of v. 16. Verse 17 should precede v.16 in accordance with the ancient alpha-bet, where the letter *pe* comes before *ayin* (cf. Lam. 2:16-17, 3: 46-51, 3:16-17, and also in the ostracon of Izbet Sarta)

⁶ Z. Weissman, *Am u-Melech ba-Mishpat ha-Mikra'i*, Tel-Aviv 1991, p.42 ff.

⁷ On this occasion the king did not accede to the complainant and decreed: “So shall your judgment be; you yourself have decided it.” The king is not permitted to deviate from the law and principles of military conduct. He, naturally, is unaware that this is a “juridical parable” and in fact has decided his own fate (v.42). For the first part of this story (20:35-38) as a “sign-act” see Lyke, *op.cit.* (n.3), pp. 130-134.

⁸ Weissman, *op.cit.* (n. 6), p. 43.

may discern between good and evil, for who is able to govern thy great people?" (I Kgs. 3:9; cf. Deut. 1:9-18; Is. 11:3-4). As a sign of the fulfillment of the request the case of the two harlots is brought and after the surprising solution which the King found for the case — an apparently insoluble one — the narrator concludes: "And all Israel heard of the judgment which the king had rendered; and they stood in awe of the king, because they perceived that the wisdom of God was in him, to render justice."

II

In II Kgs. 6:24 ff., too, we have the case of two women involving their children. More precisely, it relates to a woman who appealed to King Jehoram⁹ that he adjudicate between herself and another woman.¹⁰ This took place at a time when there was a severe famine in Samaria. The king was passing by upon the wall and the woman "cried out" (צִעֲקָה) to him, using the formulaic wording: "Help, O king!" The immediate reaction of the king expresses impatience: He assumes that at this difficult hour of famine the woman requests a little food which is not in his power to supply. He cannot conceive what other "salvation" the woman could possibly want. Nevertheless, he softens his stance and turns to the woman: "What ails you?" This is a type of reply which expresses empathy and a readiness to listen, all the more so when the appellant seems to be in distress; see e.g. Gen. 21:17; Jud. 1:14. It also functions as a response to an appeal to the king (e.g. II Sam. 14:5).¹¹

Now the woman explains her complaint: Her companion enticed her to boil and eat her son, on the understanding that on the morrow they would eat the son of the companion. However, after they had eaten the plaintiff's son, the accused concealed her son and did not fulfill her part of the agreement. This is the gist of her complaint and the king is called upon to adjudicate. Here the Deuteronomic curse has already come to pass:

⁹ In this narrative the king is not identified by name even once. According to the course of events, it is Jehoram, the son of Ahab king of Israel, however, for a different view, see A. Rofé, *The Prophetic Stories*, Jerusalem 1988, pp. 70-74.

¹⁰ It is not fortuitous that all the women appearing in these stories are anonymous and described as "a woman", "this woman" and similar appellations. The hero of the narrative in I Kgs. 20:35-42 is also designated "And a certain man of the sons of the prophets". This is apposite to the legendary nature of these stories.

¹¹ It is apparent that in Jud. 18:23-24, "What ails you? What are you shouting about?" (Niph. צִעֲקָה) is said in a vein of sarcasm. Note that it appears in the framework of "there is no king in Israel" (18:1; cf. 17:6). Also cf. the situation described at Deut 22:27, when the girl cried for help (צִעֲקָה), and there was no one to help (Hiph. יָשַׁע) her; see Lyke *op.cit.*(n.3), p. 79.

“And you shall eat the offspring of your own body, the flesh of your sons and daughters... in the siege and in the distress with which your enemies shall distress you... The most tender and delicately bred woman among you... will grudge... to her children whom she bears, because she will eat them secretly, for want of all things.” (Deut. 28:53-57; cf. Jer. 19:9; Lam. 4:10).

The reader discerns at once the close similarity between this narrative and the one concerning Solomon’s judgment (I Kgs. 3:17-28). Scholars have drawn attention to these and other similar traits between these narratives and to their contrasts and have explained their relationship in various ways (see: Lyke [n. 3 above], pp. 100, 103). Here too a dispute is going on between two feminine neighbours. Though not explicitly stated, it seems that they are unattached, without husbands, like the harlots in the case of Solomon’s judgment. The appeal for a just adjudication revolves round two sons, one who is alive and the other not (see below). In both stories the plaintiffs accuse the other woman of having cheated and deceived: this one by taking the live child from its mother and in its place putting a dead child with the appellant and the other, through her companion’s enticement, submitted her son for eating on the companion’s empty promise that she would submit her own son on the morrow.

It is not clear to the reader why the plaintiff is complaining in this case: Because she has been duped? Because her son (alive? dead?) has been taken from her? Because she is hungry and should by right also eat the flesh of the second child? Nor can we know whether the two children were already dead¹² or were alive, but because of a distressed state brought on by famine, their mothers were prepared to kill their children in order to cook them and eat them. The narrator glosses over this essential datum in silence.

If indeed the discussion is about live children, then perhaps the motive which impelled the woman was the desire for revenge against the one who had concealed her son and she wants to do it in the same spirit of the woman who had lost her son in the judgment of Solomon, “just as I [do not have, so] you too will not have.” In II Kgs. 6:24ff. we are also dealing with the “dead son” of the one and the “live son” of the other, and the accu-

¹² Thus Kimḥi when commenting upon the actions of the other woman: “but she had hidden her son” ‘in order to keep him alive’. This is also the opinion of Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* IX 4 (65-66). Cf. Pyper, *art. cit.* (n.13), p.33: “The former [option] seems more likely — given the choice, a freshly killed child must have advantages over eating that has died of who knows what disease, in a land without refrigeration.” He continues: “If this is so, maternal instincts are not completely abolished in 2 Kings 6”. Despite everything, the mother (i.e. the other woman), saves her son at the last moment. Obviously, the behaviour of the second woman cannot be construed in this light. Further, the aim of the other woman who hid her son (and according to this approach still alive) is not stated. Perhaps she wanted to eat the whole child by herself (cf. Deut. 28:53-57)?

sation is the stealing of the live child and its concealment. If this interpretation is correct, then the scenario is the opposite of the one in Solomon's judgment: Here the plaintiff complains that it is "her son who is dead" and they have already consumed him while the son of the accused is still alive. But the story seems more plausible that the two children were already dead. True, cannibalism took place as also a loss of natural motherly feeling; but may we deduce, that the mothers killed their children in order to eat them? Moreover, it is improbable that the plaintiff related this to the king and brazenly requested his "help". His reaction does not fit this case; he should have instead brought to justice these two filicides and their ilk, who were, perhaps, responsible for God having brought enemy and famine upon the land!

At all events, from now on our narrative proceeds as an inverted and distorted mirror of the Solomon judgment story.¹³ The two harlots, it seems, wanted from the outset to save their children: the plaintiff got up during the night to suckle her son, and the second one — according to the plaintiff's story — had already gathered him to her bosom, in order to raise him and be his mother. In our story, by contrast, both women cooperated to consume their children. Further on, we encounter a reversal of roles: Whereas in the Solomonic story the other woman was inclined to accept the royal suggestion and demanded that the live child be cut into two and divided between them, in our story the other woman hides her son (alive? dead?) to prevent his being shared between them.

In fact, in our case there is no legal process in the real sense. The accused is near at hand ("This woman", says the plaintiff and points to her companion; see v. 28, and cf. I Kgs. 3:17ff.) and does not react, neither confirming nor denying the accusation; she is not even pressed to do so — in contrast to Solomon's judgment where both women have their say before the king. King Jehoram is not inclined at all to have any part in this ghastly affair which surpasses all the harrowing happenings in the aftermath of the famine (v.25). Instead, he rends his clothes out of anguish and despair and in his anger and frustration swears that on that very day Elisha son of Shaphat

¹³ On this see: Rofé, *op.cit.* (n. 9), p.60 and *in extenso*: S. Lasine, "Jehoram and the Cannibal Mothers (II Kings 6:24-33): Solomon's Judgment in an Inverted World", *JSOT* 50 (1991), pp. 27-53; Id., "The Ups and Downs of Monarchical Justice: Solomon and Jehoram in an Intertextual World", *JSOT* 59 (1993), pp. 37-53; H.S. Pyper, "Judging the Wisdom of Solomon: the Two Way Effect of Intertextuality", *ibid.*, pp. 25-36; Lyke, *op.cit.* (n.3), p. 106. There are those who describe the narrative in II Kgs. 6 as a satire or caricature of Solomon's judgment. On "reflection stories" where the images are reflected inversely as in a mirror, see Y. Zakovitch: *Through the looking Glass: Reflection Stories in the Bible*, Tel Aviv 1995. The present case is not considered in the book.

will be decapitated.¹⁴ The judgment of Solomon was also to be executed through the medium of the sword but whereas Solomon ordered the sword to be brought to him solely as a means of psychological pressure without any intention of actual use, Jehoram really means that Elisha should be decapitated. Thereby, the narrative is broken, bereft of any outcome. The solution arrives from a different source: the total lifting of the siege and famine (II Kgs. 7); however, it was wrought by a miracle predicted by Elisha.

The decisions sought from the kings differ in the two cases: In the judgment of Solomon both women disagreed about the facts, neither of them is able to furnish proof to support her claims. Further, there are no witnesses able to help in the identification of the children, the live and the dead one. The king does not have the tools to decide except his psychological acuity and it is with this that the seemingly insolvable problem was brought to a surprisable end.¹⁵ As is known “man looks on the outward appearance, but the Lord looks on the heart” (I Sam. 16:7) and since King Solomon knew to look on the heart also, everyone perceived “that the wisdom of God was in him to render justice” (I Kgs. 3:28).¹⁶

¹⁴ “May God do so to me/you, and more also” as an expression of an oath is in most instances connected to a threat of putting to death.

¹⁵ The approach adopted by Solomon to establish the truth is “that a person judges himself unwittingly” and is similar, in large measure, to the “justice parable” (see n. 3 above).

¹⁶ Criticism is leveled at those who regard Solomon’s judgment as the epitome of wisdom. It would be more natural that every woman, though not the true mother, would abhor the death of a helpless child and would suggest that the child be given to the other woman in order to save its life. Such reaction is expected of both women. How would Solomon then decide? (See Pyper, *art.cit.* [n.13], p.32). However, such an “astute” question could be asked in every case of a “juridical parable”: What would the disguised prophet have done (I Kgs. 20) if the King of Israel would have acted immediately to protect the unlucky soldier who through inattentiveness and not willfully, allowed the prisoner to escape and would have remitted all punishment due to the seemingly hapless soldier? Would he then have said to the king “your judgment is right”, i.e., You, Ahab are free of any guilt for releasing Ben-Hadad, “the man whom I had designated for destruction”? It is possible that in the frightening setting which Solomon had created (“bring me a sword”, I Kgs. 3:24), he assumed that the lying woman would be afraid to incriminate herself by saying: “Give her”, the other woman, “the living child and by no means slay it”, which carries with it a confession that she had previously lied and is, therefore, justifiably, to be punished. Only the genuine mother does not worry at all about her own fate. Actually, that bogus mother, whose calculations were cool and who acted out of insincere feelings based on calculated considerations, wanted to stand at the side of “justice” (the king is always right isn’t he?) and she approves of his decision: to divide the child in two according to the legal principle of: “They divide it” (cf. Mishna Baba Mezia 1:1). She, ostensibly, lowers her head in humility and is prepared, in the cause of lofty justice, to suppress her feelings as the mother, as it were, of the infant. Let justice take its course! However, the way she expressed herself gives her away: “It shall be neither mine nor yours!” And thus her deception exposes her. Solomon “looks on the heart” of the two women simultaneously. Pyper, (*art.cit.* [n.13], p.33), argues that the story only illustrates the cunning of Solomon and not that he was a just judge since nothing is recorded about the deceitful woman being punished. However, the absence of this in a biblical narrative should not surprise the

The reader is inclined to compare the judgment of Solomon who succeeded to bring justice to light with the helplessness of King Jehoram. But the comparison is unfair; after all, what was he able to adjudicate in the case of cannibalistic women? Perhaps the sharp comment of Lasine (“Ups and Downs”, n. 12 above, p.53), that in this case even Solomon — despite his wisdom — would not have been able to solve this “judicial” problem is pertinent.¹⁷

The reader, it seems, shares in a way an empathy with Jehoram and understands his reactions. When he rends his garments, the people discern, that under his clothes the king is enwrapped with a sackcloth and it is noticeable that he is profoundly grieving the anguish of the public. Eventually, though he intended to decapitate Elisha, he has abandoned this decision and has instead voiced his despair that this trouble is from the Lord (v. 33).

III

What is the main aim of the narrative? What is its message? Who is the protagonist standing at the core — the king or the women consumers of their children? As we have seen, scholars stress the link between this event and the “judgment of Solomon”. The story in II Kgs. 6 seems to be a satire; a version of the Solomonic judgment in a distorted mirror. Perhaps a social or political satire. Others consider the two narratives from the social or anthropological point of view. This is probably an expression of the critical hour at hand with a breakdown in the mores of society: Cannibalism, especially the eating of their young by the women, points to the loss of all basic

reader. In I Kgs. 13 the old prophet who lied to the Man of God and caused his untimely death was not punished. The reason for this is that the biblical narrator does not continue to show interest in secondary characters after they have finished to play their role — from the narrative aspect — and vanish.

¹⁷ here is room for comparing the “trial” of Ziba before David (II Sam. 19:25-31) and Solomon’s judgment (See S. Lasine, “Judicial Narratives and the Ethics of Reading: The Reader as Judge of the Dispute between Mephibosheth and Ziba”, *Hebrew Studies* 30 (1989), pp. 46-69, esp.pp. 60-65). In the face of the unkempt appearance of Mephibosheth and upon hearing his words, that his own fate is not the most important (II Sam. 19:27,31; compare the words of the true mother, I Kgs. 3:26) we would have expected a declaration from David — similar to Solomon’s verdict, “Give the field and all the possessions to Mephibosheth; he is the true owner!” But David remains with his former decision of “cutting” the field into two halves and giving one half to each of the parties, without announcing that it is now clear to whom it should be given (and not be “cut” into two). Similar allusions to Solomon’s judgment can also be discerned in the fabricated case of the woman of Tekoah. Note the woman’s praise extolling the wisdom of David to judge a lawsuit — like the angel of God (II Sam. 14:17); a declaration in similar style by Mephibosheth sounds very ironic. Perhaps there is something to Absalom’s utterance concerning his father as a justice-maker (II Sam. 15:4-5). For another

human values. Some scholars think the story reflects the atmosphere at the time of its author or editor rather than that of the event itself.¹⁸

All these points are pertinent. However, to lay emphasis on this aspect of the narrative in II Kgs. 6 distorts in large measure its link with its natural setting and thereby miss its main point. It is my opinion that our text contains allusions which tie it to the group of narratives among which it is found and to which the following is addressed.

Attention should be paid to the subtle use which is made here of a pun as a literary device. In the king's execratory words: "Let the Lord help you not" (אל יִשַׁעךָ, 6:27; MT: יוֹשִׁיעַךָ)¹⁹ there is a clear allusion to one, who in the opinion of the king is the one to whom the woman's grievances should be directed: Elisha (אֵלִישָׁע) the prophet. We have here a play on words; the name אֵלִישָׁע carries the message "the God who saves" (אֵל-יִשַׁע; whether etymologically this is the meaning of the name or not),²⁰ but at this time of a ravaging famine, Jehoram seems to supply the actual meaning of the prophet's name: Not "the helping God" but "the one who does not help," or "let Him not (אֵל) help" (יִשַׁע); or: "Even God cannot save you" (so Lyke, n. 3 above, p. 103). Then he adds, repeating the same root: "whence shall I help (hiph. יִשַׁע) you?" Meaning, I have not the wherewithal to give you salvation (יִשַׁע). Indeed, later he points the accusing finger at Elisha directly and swears to behead him (v.31). A touch of irony is also to be discerned in the mention by the king of the full name of the prophet אֵלִישָׁע the son of שִׁפְטָן in the context of being unable to judge (שִׁפְטָן) nor to help (אֵל יִשַׁע).²¹

On learning from the woman the hair-raising case, the king's response was to rend his garments (6:30). The same reaction is found above (5:7-8) when he was summoned to cure the Syrian commander in chief Na'aman of his leprosy. There is, of course, a difference in the wherefore of the rending in the two instances: On the first occasion the king believes that the prophet is unable to act (namely, to cure Na'aman of his leprosy); in the second instance, however, he assumes the prophet does not want to act (namely, to lift the famine), since, after Elisha had cured Na'aman of his

view see: S. Vargon, "The Blind and the Lame", *VT* 46 (1996), pp. 498-514 (esp. pp. 507-512).

¹⁸ See Lasine, *art.cit.* 1993 (n.13) and Pyper, *art.cit.* (n.13). Some of the ideas which these scholars raise are in themselves good, but must be treated with caution so as not to interpose the readers' thoughts which can lead us to any place except to what the narrator himself intended.

¹⁹ In fact this expression is unclear; for other interpretations of this expression see below.

²⁰ See S.E. Loewenstamm, *Encyclopaedia Biblica* I, 1965, col. 358.

²¹ On the use of Midrashic derivations from names see especially: M. Garsiel, *Biblical Names. A Literal Study of Midrashic Derivations and Puns*, Ramat Gan 1991. Our case can be an additional example.

leprosy, the king was aware that **אלִישַׁע** had the power — at least, if he so desired — to perform miracles and to save (**ישַׁע**).

There are further allusions discerned in our text whose analogy can be found in the circle of Elisha narratives:

In ironic contrast to the helplessness exhibited by the king in this episode stands the case of the woman who “cries” (**צַעֲקָה**) for deliverance (II Kgs. 4:1-6). Here the cry is not addressed to the king but to Elisha who does, indeed, deliver miraculously on this occasion too. This is a kind of “praise narrative” highlighting Elisha’s power.²² Here also the suppliant is a solitary woman, a widow with two sons who stand in danger of being seized as slaves. True, this is not an explicit appeal for justice, or to save the victim from the oppressor. No opinion is here articulated with regard to the seizure of children as slaves and the prophet does not endeavour to prevent by legal measures the creditor from realizing his design.²³ It is enlightening to compare the response of the king and Elisha to the “cry” of the women who turn to them. The king reacts impatiently at first and even cursingly “Let the Lord help you not; whence shall I help you? From the threshing floor, or from the wine press?” (**יִקַּב** and **גִּרְן**, 6:27; these two words often indicate abundance, e.g. Deut. 15:14, 16:13, and here they are used ironically). Then the king changes his tone and asks: “What is your trouble?” (6:28). Compare Elisha’s opening response: “What shall I do for you?” (4:2) which is followed by a productive interrogation which aims to solve the problem. Elisha is portrayed as the one assuming responsibility to solve the problem.

Indeed, there is some gap here in the course of the narrative at 6:24 ff. There is no reaction on the part of Elisha to the hapless, cruel women who boil their children. The narrator too is silent on this matter. According to what is related in 6:32, Elisha was aware that the king wanted to kill him. He also knows and announces that on the morrow there would be an abundance of food. Did he also know of the woman who came to cry out to the king because her son had been eaten up? The true essence of the narrative in I Kgs. 7 is not the miraculous supply of abundant food; nor most certainly that the plenty has solved the problem of the two women who are

²² For the term the “praises of the prophet” taken from Hasidic tales, see A. Rofe, *op.cit.* (n. 9), pp. 42-44.

²³ Various scholars regard it as self-understood, that our verse testifies to the Israelite law allowing the taking of children in lieu of non-payment of debts. See, e.g., J. Gray, *I & II Kings. A Commentary* (OTL), London 1970, p. 492; G.H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings* (NCBC), vol. II, Grand Rapids 1984, p. 483. However, it would be a mistake to assume from the passage in question that the law indeed demanded this.

now not under any pressure to consume the remaining child. The point is the fulfillment of the prophet's words concerning the captain, that he would see with his own eyes the fulfillment of the prophecy of the abundance of food but would not eat of it (II Kgs. 7:16-20).

All attempts to find a different moral in the story of cannibalistic mothers: The collapse of the fabric of society, possibly as punishment wrought upon Israel because of her sins, i.e., that women eat their offspring — of all this there is no mention at all in II Kgs. 7-8. Even the Deuteronomistic School which would only be too happy to use such narratives for teaching a lesson on what happens if the covenant with God is abandoned and other gods are worshipped, does not see in these stories suitable material for this. What is left of our narrative is an episode of a terrible famine, of an appeal for the help of the king — unable to help; of a threat upon the prophet's life and finally, the deliverance as predicted by the prophet.

The king is unable to save neither from the threshing floor (i.e. with corn) nor from the wine press (i.e. with wine and oil; wine press is also the location of the oil press, see Joel 2:24). This calls to mind the "food-miracles" performed by the prophet Elisha for the widow with two children (II Kgs. 4:4-7; see also 42-44), as well as by his mentor Elijah (I Kgs. 17:12-16). The keen reader will discern that the king who has been entreated to adjudicate and save was unable to do so and instead mentioned disparagingly "אל־ישע" the son of שפט. However, in the other story of Chapter 4 it becomes apparent that the plaint of the woman has been answered and her salvation has been wrought and indeed, the name "אל־ישע" (i.e. god of salvation) the son of שפט befits him well. Elisha is "a Man of God" (see e.g. II Kgs. 4:9, 16 etc.) and as such can bring salvation. It is not surprising that the vocabulary of "crying out" for help and of "salvation", in relation to God is used in relation to the prophet as well. True, the same terms are also used in relation to the earthly king, but in this case (and in others) the king is in fact helpless. Both in this narrative and the case of the Samaritan woman, Elisha the prophet, finally, not by adjudication but miraculously, solved the problem (see II Kgs. 7).

With the end of the Samaritan famine episode through the prophet's intervention, the circle, as it were, has been closed when another woman appears before the king to "appeal" (צעק) about her house and field (II Kgs. 8:5-6). This took place after another severe famine when the woman — after prior notice from Elisha — went to sojourn in the land of the Philistines seven years (8:1-3). Gehazi relates to the king, at the latter's request, "all the great things that Elisha has done". At that very moment the woman comes "to appeal to the king", and Gehazi introduces her as the

one for whom Elisha had wrought a wonder and restored her son to life. In this episode as well as in Chapter 8 the motifs of an appeal to the king, of famine, of a woman and of restoration of life to her son are present.

In our opinion, we have here confirmation that the story in II Kgs. 6:24-33 concerning the woman who demands adjudication from the king, is primarily a chapter out of the “praises” of Elisha. We have here a “topsy-turvy world” in which a woman who has eaten her child comes to the king for a legal clarification as to her right to consume a portion of her companion’s child. The king, the addressee of the woman’s plaint, “help, my lord, O king!” is unable to act and sends instead a murderer to decapitate the prophet. In this mad world there is an island of sanity and self-restraint and this is the prophet with complete mastery of affairs. With perfect tranquility he proclaims what will take place on the morrow when the woman’s problem will automatically find its solution in the comprehensive salvation of the whole people. Elisha does not rule who is right or wrong but provides salvation for everybody.²⁴

²⁴ In fact this is also a “food-miracle”; but typologically it is different from the usual food miracles (I Kgs. 17:13-16; II Kgs. 4:2-6, 42-44 and similar accounts in rabbinical literature and the New Testament where the amount of food is small and increases abundantly all the time and quantity needed.

NEW MIDDLE BRONZE AGE
FUNERARY EVIDENCE FROM TELL AHMAR
(SYRIA)

THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE JAR BURIAL F167 FROM TELL AHMAR (SYRIA)

BY

ARLETTE ROOBAERT

In 1994, during the seventh excavation season at Tell Ahmar, a jar burial was discovered in Area S, the stratigraphic trench on the eastern slope of the tell (Fig. 1). Together with human bones, the jar contained three reconstructible pots, a bronze toggle pin and a cylinder seal.

Considering the importance of the material found in the tomb, as well as the dearth of published Middle Bronze Age remains from the upper Euphrates valley, it was decided to publish the burial before research is completed in the Area S step trench.

Description and stratigraphic context

The burial consisted of a large storage jar with a rope decoration, lying on its side in a north-south orientation (Fig. 2). The rim as well as the upper part of the jar were destroyed; only the body, which contained the bones and the artefacts, was found in place. This is not uncommon. At Hazor, for instance, burial jars preserved intact with the rim are considered an extremely rare occurrence.¹

Inside the jar, to the north, pieces of a human skull were discovered. Next to them, two carinated goblets and a bowl had been deposited upside down. They were broken into pieces and covered some of the bones. Further to the south, a large quantity of charcoal was mixed with burnt bones that fell apart when removed. Under these bones, to the south-east, were a stone cylinder seal and a bronze toggle pin.

The bones were in a very poor state of preservation and only one skull was identified. The presence of blackened bones and charcoal raises questions regarding the type of funerary practice represented. Was the body intentionally but only partially cremated before being buried in the jar? Or is this an example of both a cremation and an inhumation in the same jar?

¹ Y. Yadin *et al.*, *Hazor II*, Jerusalem 1958, p. 84.

Stratigraphically, the jar burial belongs to stratum IX which is characterized by a stone building of which two rooms were partially excavated (Fig. 3). One of these rooms, which extended into the north baulk, had a floor built on a stone pavement. The floor was covered by a thick layer of burnt debris including a large quantity of charcoal, possibly from burnt beams. In the second room, to the south, no floor was discovered; the corresponding floor was probably destroyed by the construction of the stratum VIII building. It is under this possible floor and in a blackish accumulation that the jar was buried.

Stratum IX is one of the four Middle Bronze strata that were identified in area S.² These strata were numbered from VIII to XI, from top to bottom. They were all characterized by carefully built architectural structures. In stratum XI, a mud brick wall on stone foundations, more than five metres long, was oriented in a north-east/south-west direction. A north-south mud brick wall that joined its north face defined two rooms of which one had a mud brick floor; and to the south of the long wall there was a large open space. In stratum X, thick stone walls were preserved as well as a floor on which a pedestal vase with an elaborate combed decoration was lying. The buildings of the two upper strata, IX and VIII, had almost the same orientation, and were both destroyed by a heavy fire.

Type of burial

During the Middle Bronze period, jar or pit burials under the floors of domestic areas seem to have been a common practice both in Syria and Palestine.³

It seems, however, that jar burials were usually used for children or infants. It is the case, for instance, at Hazor,⁴ Hammam et-Turkman,⁵ Tell Amarna,⁶ and Hadidi where this practice seems to go back to the end of the Early Bronze Age.⁷ At Tell Ahmar, the evidence suggests that it might not

² A. Roobaert and G. Bunnens, "The Melbourne University excavations at Tell Ahmar - Til barsib," in G. del Olmo Lete (ed.), *International Symposium on the Archaeology of the Upper Syrian Euphrates (Tishrin Dam Area) January 28th-30th, 1998*, Barcelona, forthcoming.

³ B. Hrouda, "Grab, II, Syrien und Palästina," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 3/8 (1971), pp. 599-600.

⁴ Y. Yadin *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 81.

⁵ L. Thissen, "The burials," in M.N. Van Loon (ed.), *Hammam et-Turkman I. Report on the University of Amsterdam's 1981-1984 Excavations in Syria*, Leiden 1988, p. 158.

⁶ Ö. Tunca, "Tell Amarna," in G. del Olmo Lete (ed.), *International Symposium on the Archaeology of the Upper Syrian Euphrates (Tishrin Dam Area) January 28th-30th, 1998*, Barcelona, forthcoming.

⁷ R.H. Dornemann, "Tell Hadidi: an important center of the Mitannian period and ear-

be the case. If the three complete vessels were almost surely intended as offerings, the cylinder seal and the toggle pin may possibly be considered as part of the deceased belongings. If this is the case, the jar burial is more likely to be that of an adult than a child.

Grave goods

The ceramics and the cylinder seal are studied below by A. Jamieson and A. Otto respectively. Here follows an analysis of the toggle pin.

Toggle pin⁸ (Fig. 4)

Dimensions: L 8.6 cm, Diam 0.3 cm (point), 1.4 cm (head).

Material: Bronze

Description

Although highly corroded, this bronze toggle pin is complete and its particular details are clearly visible. The pin, circular in section, is characterized by a fluted head divided into eight segments and a ribbed shank pierced with a hole.⁹

Comparisons

This type of toggle pin is well known on the Syrian coast, especially at Ugarit, where several examples were found in burials dated to the “Ugarit Moyen 2” (1900-1750).¹⁰ Near Byblos, a princely tomb, known as “Trésor du Liban”, yielded a rich material among which a golden toggle pin of the same type with a ring hanging from the pierced shank.¹¹

Further south in Upper Galilee, in a Middle Bronze II burial cave, Zefat (Safed) on the southern slopes of Mt. Canaan, six bronze toggle pins of the

lier,” in J.-Cl. Margueron (ed.), *Le Moyen Euphrate. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg 10-12 mars 1977*, Leiden 1980, pp. 227-228.

⁸ TAH 94/ S 2+3/ F 167/ O. 180. The object is kept in the Aleppo Museum under the inventar number TAH 94 No. 130.

⁹ On this type of pin, see H. Klein, *Untersuchung zur Typologie bronzzeitlicher Nadeln in Mesopotamien und Syrien*, Schriften zur vorderasiatischen Archäologie, 4, Saarbrücken 1992, pp. 106-108 (Type I.12 A 2a).

¹⁰ C. Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie occidentale (IIIe et IIe millénaires)*, London 1948, p. 88 and fig. 49:1; Id., “Les fouilles de Minet el-Beida et de Ras-Shamra. Troisième campagne (printemps 1931). Rapport sommaire,” *Syria*, 13 (1932), pl.xiii:3; Id., *Ugaritica II*, Paris 1949, fig. 18:16; 105b; Id., *Ugaritica IV*, Paris 1962, fig. 6 p. 308, pl. xvii:4.

¹¹ C. Schaeffer, *op. cit.* (n. 10), 1948, p. 79, fig. 78:E.

type found at Tell Ahmar were discovered together with other toggle pins, a scarab and 51 complete vessels including some carinated goblets.¹² At Jericho, a bronze toggle pin identical to the exemplar found at Tell Ahmar was discovered, with another two of a different type, in a Middle Bronze II A tomb 19.¹³

In the Euphrates area, bronze toggle pins dating from the Middle Bronze period have been discovered both in tombs¹⁴ and in domestic areas,¹⁵ but none is identical to the type represented at Tell Ahmar. Two toggle pins from Halawa, however, can be considered very similar because they also have a fluted head and a ribbed stem but, instead of being pierced, they have a flat disk at the base of the stem. These pins are also longer than the Tell Ahmar example. Such long pins with a flat disk are well known from Ugarit¹⁶ and Alalakh¹⁷ but are also found at Hama¹⁸ and Ebla.¹⁹

On the Balikh, at Hammam et-Turkman, a pit burial of an adult dating from the Middle Bronze II period contained a bronze toggle pin of the type discovered at Tell Ahmar, associated with a carinated goblet similar to those found in the Tell Ahmar jar burial.²⁰

At Chagar Bazar in the Habur area, a bronze toggle pin almost identical to the one from Tell Ahmar was found in a Middle Bronze II tomb associated with painted and unpainted vessels totally different from the carinated goblets found at Tell Ahmar.²¹ The toggle pin with its fluted head and

¹² E. Damati and Y. Stepanisky, "A Middle Bronze Age II burial cave on Mt. Canaan, Zefat (Wadi Hamra)," *Atiqot*, 29 (1996), pp. 1*-29* (Hebrew), pp. 107-108 (English summary) and fig. 18:1-6.

¹³ J. Garstang, "Jericho: City and Necropolis," *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 20 (1933), p. 7, fig. 2: 19 C/16.

¹⁴ A. Arns *et al.*, "Ausgrabungen in Tall Bi'a 1982 und 1983," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft*, 116 (1984), p. 39 anf fig. 21:i-j.

¹⁵ W. Orthmann, "Ausgrabungen in Halawa 1978," *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes*, 32 (1982), p. 150 and fig. 19-20 p. 172; J. W. Meyer, "Grabungen im Planquadrat Q," in W. Orthmann (ed.), *Halawa 1977-1979*, Bonn 1981, pp. 34-35, Taf. 50:9; 52:8 dated to the early MB at the beginning of the second millennium.

¹⁶ C. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica II*, Paris 1949, fig. 107: 3.

¹⁷ C. L. Woolley, *Alalakh: An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937-1949*, Oxford 1955, pl. LXX: AT/38/274, LXIII: P 18.

¹⁸ E. Fugmann, *L'architecture des périodes pré-hellénistiques*, Hama, II 1, Copenhagen, 1958, pl. X, 5B420:13.

¹⁹ N. Marchetti, Catalogue n. 268, p. 415, in P. Matthiae *et al.* (ed.), *Ebla. Alle origini della civiltà ubana*, Rome 1995. Bronze pins were also found in MB common tombs at Ebla, but they are not described. See Fr. Baffi Guardata, *Les sépultures d'Ebla à l'Age du Bronze Moyen*, in H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann (eds), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla*, Heidelberg 1988, pp. 3-20.

²⁰ L. Thissen, *loc. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 149, 154-158, pl. 57:23. (Burial L24 B6).

²¹ M. E. L. Mallowan, "The excavations at Tall Chagar Bazar and an archaeological survey of the Habur region. Second campaign, 1936," *Iraq*, 4 (1937), fig. 12:9, pp. 98, 122, 133.

ribbed stem still had a ring passing through the perforated shank. It was considered by Mallowan as a “rare and distinctive type” and paralleled with an example from Tell et Tin in Syria.²²

The above comparisons show that bronze toggle pins with different head shapes are commonly found in association with vessels in burials from Palestine to Anatolia during the Middle Bronze II. The particular type found at Tell Ahmar seems to belong to a tradition attested essentially on the Syrian coast and in Palestine; it might be considered as an import to the Euphrates area.

Conclusion

The jar burial from Tell Ahmar reflects funerary practices that were in use during the Middle Bronze Age, not only in Syria but also in Palestine. The Tell Ahmar burial, however, has distinct features. Jar burials seem to have generally been used for child inhumations which does not seem to have been the case at Tell Ahmar. The offerings mainly consisted of carinated goblets, which seem to have been a popular kind of grave good, but they also included a type of open bowl that is much less common in burials.²³ The bronze toggle pin, is also an item often found in burials. This particular type, however, does not seem common in the Euphrates region and finds most of its parallels in regions further west or south-west. Finally, the cylinder seal represents another infrequent feature of jar burials. These considerations, as well as the conclusions reached by A. Otto on the iconography of the seal,²⁴ shows that the presence of this jar burial at Tell Ahmar has far-reaching implications. It is possibly the tomb of a high official either from Carchemish or from Yamhad. This raises the question of the function of Tell Ahmar, of which the Middle Bronze Age name is still unknown, in the geopolitics of the 18th century B.C.

²² M.E.L. Mallowan, *loc.cit.* (n.21), p. 133.

²³ See A. Jamieson's report below, p. 107.

²⁴ See below, pp. 122-124.

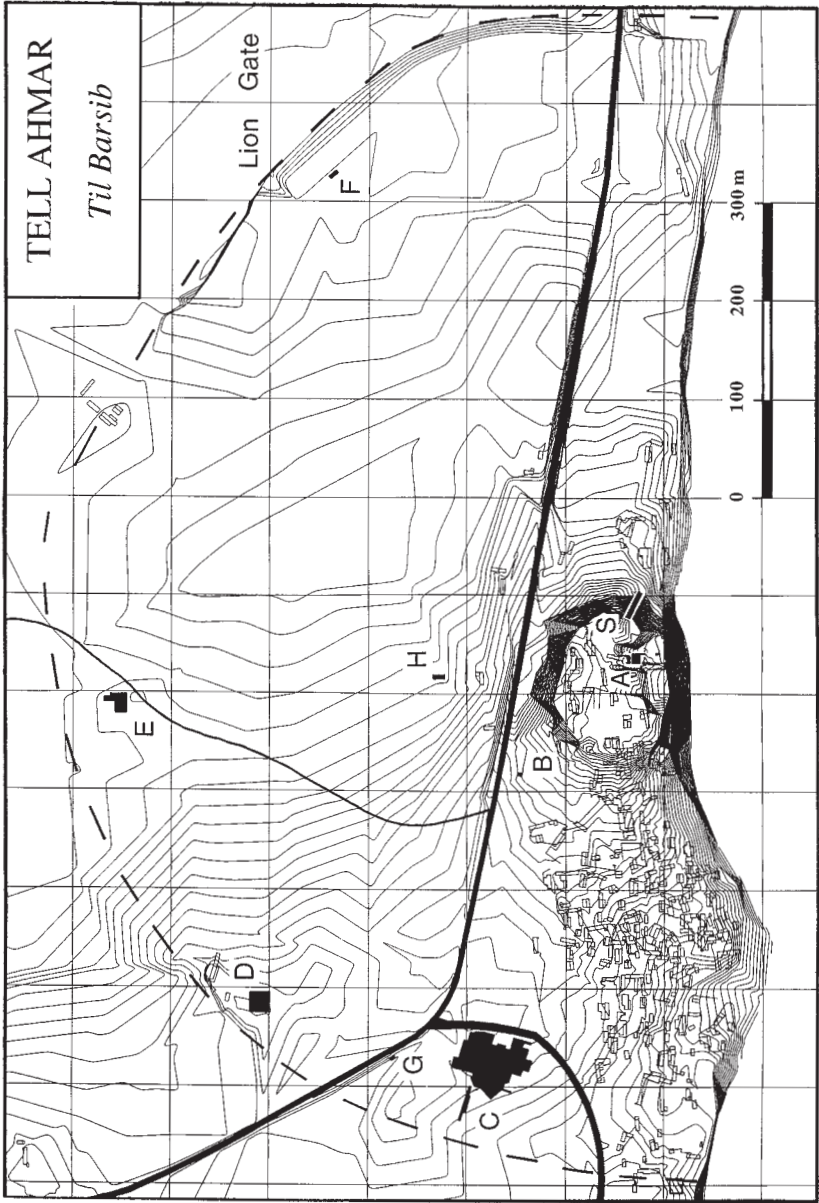


Fig. 1. Map of Tell Ahmar.

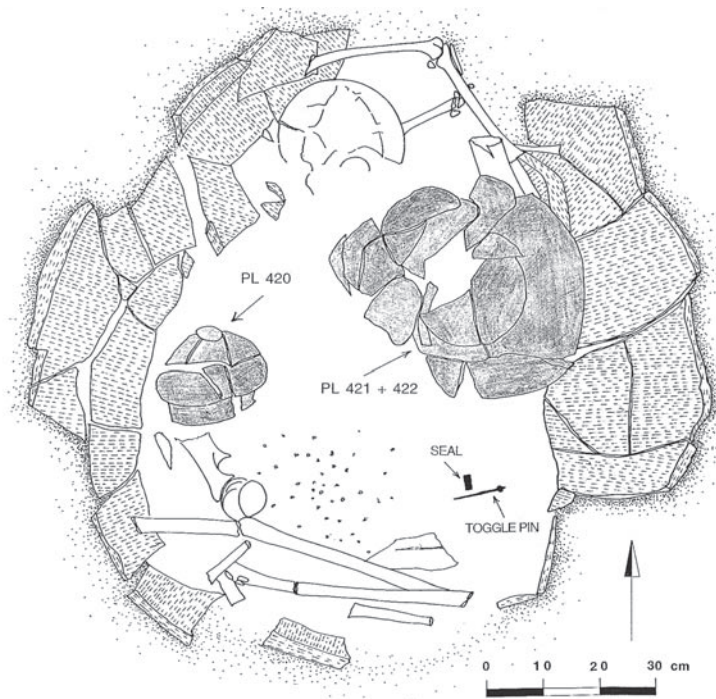


Fig. 2. The jar burial F167 (drawing A.S. Jamieson, photograph G. Bunnens).

TELL AHMAR
Area S
1994
Stratum IX

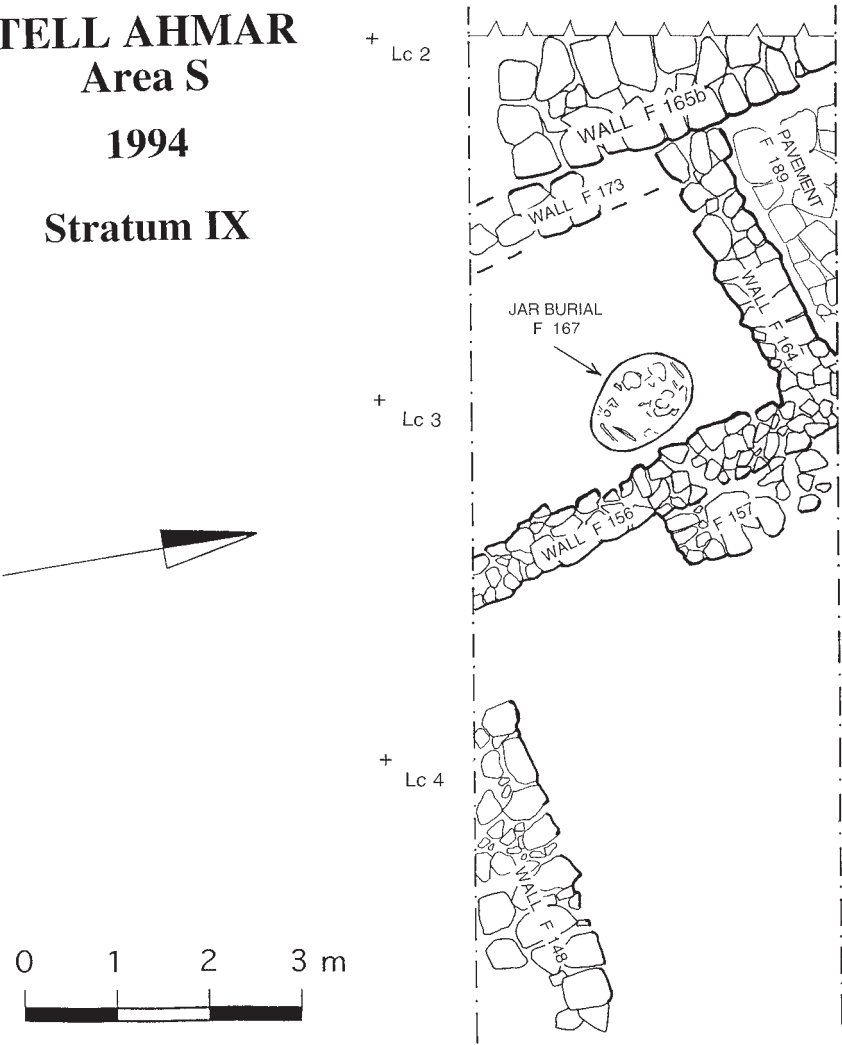


Fig. 3. Plan of stratum IX in Area S.

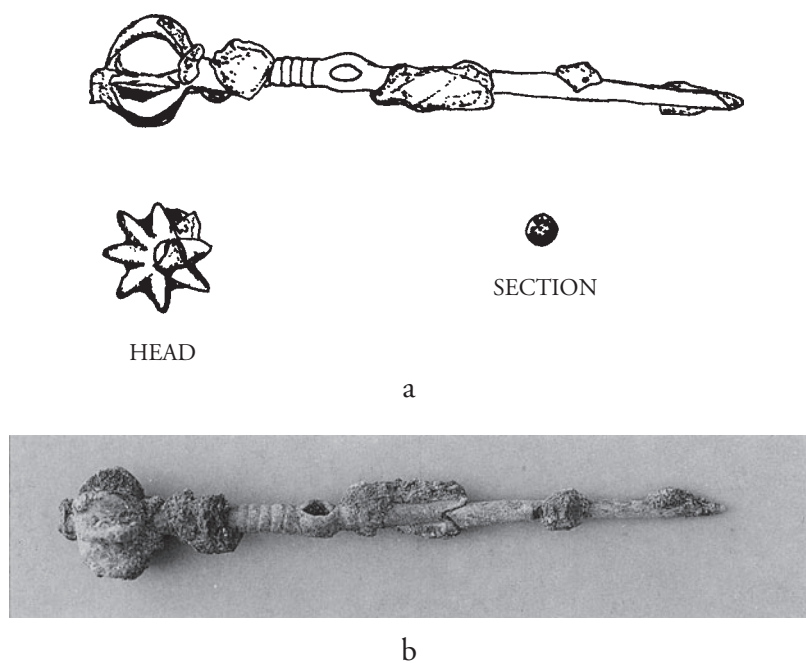


Fig. 4. Toggle pin from jar burial F167
(drawing L. Abbate, photograph A. Abd el-Ghafour).

CERAMIC VESSELS FROM THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE JAR BURIAL F167 AT TELL AHMAR

BY

ANDREW S. JAMIESON

Introduction

This short report examines three Middle Bronze Age (MBA) ceramic vessels (Fig. 5a-c, Fig. 6) found in association with an inhumation jar burial (Feature 167) discovered, lying on its side, in the step trench, known as Area S, at Tell Ahmar during the 1994 season. Regrettably, the large hand-made burial jar was broken and the rim was missing. Owing to the incomplete and poor state of preservation it is possible that this receptacle was already partially broken before interred as a funerary urn. However, it is possible that the burial jar was also damaged by later building activities in this area. Despite the fragmentary condition, sufficient large pieces survived to permit the oval-shaped profile to be reconstructed (Fig. 5d). It appears that the base was round and a series of parallel raised bands with notch impressions decorated the exterior; several sherds were also decorated with combed wavy lines.¹

This burial is part of a stratigraphic sequence that includes four different strata. The associated ceramic assemblage may be chronologically related to the first quarter of the second millennium B.C.² Of special interest within this assemblage were a painted Syro-Cilician jug, a vessel with pedestal base, and a significant quantity of sherds bearing comb-incised decoration.³ These findings are important since they document a period previously unknown in the history of the site.

¹ The approximate dimensions of the burial jar are: maximum height 100 cm; maximum width 70 cm; vessel thickness 2-2.5 cm.

² On the complexities of terminology pertaining to the MBA see J.N. Tubb, "The MBIIA period in Palestine: Its relationship with Syria and its origin," *Levant*, 15 (1983), pp. 49-62; with references to other works on this subject. For a history of the proposed terminologies see also P. Gerstenblith, *The Levant at the Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age*, (ASOR Dissertation Series, 5), Winona Lake 1983, p. 3, Table 1.

³ This corpus will be discussed in more detail in a separate study.

Technical Analysis

Manufacture: All three vessels considered in this report, one bowl (Fig. 5c and 6c) and two goblets (Fig. 5a-b, Fig. 6a-b), are wheel-made. In some instances traces of throwing rings are visible on the interior and exterior surfaces. Markings on the bases of the two goblets indicate that they were wheel-turned, at the leather-hard stage, to form and finish the base.

Fabric: The three pots are all made from a medium textured, Common Ware, which is either pink-buff [10YR 7/3-6/3], or cream-green [5YR 8/2-8/3]. The vessels are tempered with fine to medium sized white, black, and dark red grit inclusions, which occur in moderate quantities. The presence of mica is occasionally noted; chaff or organic temper is absent. Presumably, this Common Ware represents a continuation of Plain and Simple Wares, of the preceding EBA.⁴

Firing: All three pots have been fired in oxidising kiln conditions, indicated by the pale, light buff or greenish colour of the ware. Before restoration of the goblets it was possible to observe that the cores of these vessels were evenly fired, with regular fracture patterns. The pots have a moderate to hard finish, and brick-like resonance when tapped, suggesting a firing temperature in the range of 750 and 950 degrees Celsius.⁵

Shape Analysis

Bowl

TAH 94 S2+3/F 167/PL 421.1: Rim Ø 23 cm, Ht. 5 cm, Base Ø 10 cm.

This medium sized shallow open bowl, is characterized by an off-set rounded rim (Fig. 5c, Fig. 6c) which is slightly swollen at the end. The base is flat and appears to have been hand trimmed. The interior is smoothed. Bowl shapes appear less frequently in burial contexts (see below).

Cf.	<i>Hamмам et-Turkman</i>	<i>Curvers, 1988, pl. 124:16</i>	VII:5
	<i>Hama</i>	<i>Fugmann, 1958, fig. 139:5B85I</i>	Period H
		<i>127:2D213</i>	
		<i>fig. 143:0106</i>	Period G
	<i>Mardikh</i>	<i>Matthiae, 1980, fig. 34:9</i>	<i>Mardikh IIIA</i>

TABLE 1

⁴ On the evolution and development of these wares see R.J. Braidwood & L.S. Braidwood, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch*, Chicago 1960, (Phase G) pp. 264-274; (Phase H) pp. 352-354; (Phase I) pp. 406-413.

⁵ See O. Rye, *Pottery Technology: Principles and Reconstruction*, Washington 1981, *passim*, pp. 96-122.

Goblets

TAH 94 S2+3/F167/PL420.1: Rim Ø 9.5 cm, Ht. 9.5 cm, Base Ø 3.3 cm, Max. Ø 11.5 cm

TAH 94 S2+3/F167/PL422.2: Rim Ø 9 cm, Ht. 9 cm, Base Ø 4.5 cm, Max. Ø 11.5 cm

Both goblets are finely made with angular carinated shoulders, everted flaring necks, and rims that taper towards a point.⁶ One goblet has a simple flat base (Fig. 5b, Fig. 6b), and the other has a small ring base; possibly coil applied (Fig. 5a, Fig. 6a). The small size and articulated shape may suggest that these vessels were used as drinking cups. Curious is their frequent occurrence in burial deposits (see correlations below). With this in mind they are perhaps in some way connected, symbolically or otherwise, with a function relating to mortuary practices and the rituals associated with burying the dead. Despite our uncertainty of ever knowing their precise function, these goblets exhibit few, if any, indications of use-wear on their surfaces and they were found to contain no detectable substances or residues.⁷ Small carinated goblets or beakers are one of the most distinctive shapes of the MBA and this type, in particular, appears to be a distinctive indicator for the early second millennium B.C.⁸

⁶ The names used to describe these vessels varies considerably in the archaeological literature. Ranging from the specific such as the goblet, beaker, or cup, to the more general like vessel with carinations, or vase with "S"-sided profile. A further complication is the fact that some of these names translate differently in languages other than English (see H. BALFET *et al.*, (eds.), *Lexique plurilingue pour la description des poteries*, Paris 1988). Of importance to the present study is that these vessels, which are neither bowls or jars, raise questions as to their precise intended use. Although the vessel's function, or functions, remain to be clarified, their frequent association with MBA burial contexts is one consistent feature of these shapes.

⁷ On this subject, L. Thissen notes that at Hammam et-Turkman the burial pottery is of second-rate quality and claims that deformed rims, lop-sided bases and other deficiencies characterise these ceramic items. The implication of this evidence, states Thissen, is that "The burial objects recovered do not stand out as exceptional and hardly give clues as to the status of the dead." (L. Thissen, "The burials," in M.N. Van Loon (ed.), *Hammam et-Turkman*, I, Leiden 1988, p. 159).

⁸ These goblets possibly replace cups with banded rims which are common in the preceding EB IV period. For examples of these cups with banded rims see J.-W. Meyer, "Die Grabungen im Planquadrat Q," in W. Orthmann (ed.), *Halawa 1980 bis 1986*, Bonn 1989, fig. 24:12-15; 25:6, where they occur (Halawa Schicht 3) together with other EB IV ceramic indicators such as the so-called Hama goblet with external surface corrugations (cf. fig. 24:7, 9-10).

Cf.	<i>el-Qitar</i>	<i>Culican & McClellan, 1984, fig. 4:M-N</i>	<i>Area Y</i>
	<i>Hadidi</i>	<i>Dornemann, 1979, fig. 23:4</i>	<i>MBI I</i>
	<i>Munbaqa</i>	<i>Heinrich et al., 1970, 34b (right)</i>	<i>Burial</i>
	<i>Hammam et-</i>	<i>Curvers, 1988, pl. 127:58-59</i>	<i>VII:3-VII:5</i>
	<i>Turkman</i>	<i>pl. 128:60</i>	<i>VII:5</i>
		<i>Thissen, 1988, pl. 57:22</i>	<i>B6 L24 (VII)</i>
		<i>pl. 60:33, 36</i>	<i>B4 N24 (VII)</i>
		<i>pl. 61:42</i>	<i>B8 N24 (VII)</i>
	<i>Baghouz</i>	<i>du Mesnil du Buisson, 1948,</i>	<i>Graves</i>
		<i>pl. LXXXIX:2220, 2211, 228</i>	
	<i>Bi'a</i>	<i>Herbordt et al., 1981, fig. 9:1, 3</i>	<i>Bauschichten</i>
		<i>Arns et al., 1984, fig. 5c</i>	<i>Grab II (IVa)</i>
	<i>Mardikh</i>	<i>Matthiae, 1980, fig. 41:1</i>	<i>Mardikh IIIA</i>
		<i>Matthiae 1979, fig. 1:10-11</i>	<i>BM IIII</i>
		<i>(ipogeo della "Principessa")</i>	
		<i>Baffi Guardata, 1986, fig. 6:1, 6</i>	<i>Niveaux 4 -5</i>
	<i>Alalakh</i>	<i>Woolley, 1955, pl. CXIX:104b & 106a</i>	<i>VII</i>
	<i>Hama</i>	<i>Fugmann, 1958, fig. 143:2C966</i>	<i>Period H</i>
	<i>Qatna</i>	<i>du Mesnil du Buisson, 1930, pl. 32:20</i>	<i>Tomb I</i>
	<i>Tell Sukas</i>	<i>Thrane, 1978, fig. 48:48</i>	<i>MB Burial TIV</i>
	<i>Yabrud</i>	<i>Abou Assaf, 1967, pl. III:15</i>	<i>Friedhof</i>
	<i>Ugarit</i>	<i>Schaeffer, 1949, fig. 105:15</i>	<i>Tomb UM2-UM3</i>
		<i>Schaeffer, 1962, fig. 5A, p. 306,</i>	<i>Tomb UM2</i>
		<i>pl. XVI:3, p. 294.</i>	

TABLE 2

Surface Treatment

Slips: The three vessels give the appearance of having a self-slip, formed as a direct result of the manufacturing process. This is more marked on the goblets which have a pale cream surface finish.

Shape Correlations & Chronological Considerations

Correlations with the MBA burial assemblage from Tell Ahmar may be found with examples from other sites. It is important to note that variations are apparent in the comparative ceramic evidence; a factor which undoubtedly reflects regional variability.

Euphrates Valley: In the Tishrin Dam flood zone early to mid second millennium B.C. pottery has been reported at Qara Quzaq, located a short distance downstream from Tell Ahmar. At Qara Quzaq, *Nivel* II-1 dates

from the MBA II period (c. 1900-1750 B.C.). The pottery from this level contains numerous ceramic indicators of the MB period, most notably comb decorated vessels. Absent at Qara Quzaq are the distinctive carinated goblets; however, as noted, these distinctive types appear to be often associated with burials and since the Qara Quzaq corpus is derived essentially from stratigraphic contexts related with industrial storage facilities (silos) this may not be surprising.⁹

In 1979 R. Dornemann published a corpus of Bronze Age ceramics from Tell Hadidi.¹⁰ Included in this report were five infant burials dug into, or under, the floors, which were found in Area B (Phase D). The pottery found in these graves, which included brick-line pits and a triple infant burial in a cooking pot, is not discussed in detail.¹¹ Dornemann notes that the earliest examples of this burial practice at Tell Hadidi were found on the lower tell in the 1976 season, attested by two infant burials in storage jars together with the typical ceramic cups, and have been ascribed to the late third millennium B.C.¹²

Among the illustrated MB II types from the high tell (Area B) at Tell Hadidi are several goblets or cups, but most appear to have short out-turned rims; only one cup fragment, with flaring rim, is like those from the burial at Tell Ahmar.¹³ Although a range of different open bowl forms are illustrated, with a variety of out-turned rims below which are often slight carination, none are identical to the burial bowl from Tell Ahmar.

In a later study R. Dornemann discusses the early second millennium (MB IIA-IIB) ceramic parallels between Tell Hadidi-Azu and Mari where the focus is on the MBA pottery recovered from the floors and stone pavements of the rooms in Area B. Notably, carinated goblets with tall flaring necks, like those from the burial at Tell Ahmar, are missing from this

⁹ C. Valdes, "La cerámica de la edad del Bronce de Tell Qara Quzaq campana de 1991," in G. Del Olmo Lete (ed.), *Tell Qara Quzaq - I, Campanas I-III (1989-1991)*, Barcelona 1994, pp. 36-44. Ead., "Tell Qara Quzaq," in G. Del Olmo Lete (ed.), *International Symposium on the Archaeology of the Upper Syrian Euphrates (Tishrin Dam Area)*, Barcelona, (forthcoming). During the MBA period the whole of the tell was occupied by a huge complex of storage units. See also G. Del Olmo Lete "Qara Quzaq," in H. Weiss (ed.), *Archaeology in Syria, AJA*, 98 (1994), pp. 133-134.

¹⁰ R.H. Dornemann, "Tell Hadidi: A millennium of Bronze Age city occupation," in D.N. Freedman (ed.), *Excavation Reports from the Tabqa Dam Project - Euphrates Valley, Syria*, (AASOR, 44), 1979, pp. 113-151. On MBA pottery see also R.H. Dornemann, "Tell Hadidi: One Bronze Age site among many in the Tabqa dam salvage area," *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research*, 270 (1988), pp. 13-42, in particular pp. 38-39.

¹¹ R.H. Dornemann, *loc.cit.*, 1979, pp. 132-138, figs. 26-27.

¹² R.H. Dornemann, *loc.cit.*, 1979, p. 138.

¹³ R.H. Dornemann, *loc.cit.*, 1979, fig. 20:45-47 and 20:35.

Hadidi assemblage.¹⁴ Only cups with short, simple out-turned rims and rounded body profiles are represented.¹⁵ These types are considered to be one of a number of distinctive forms that stand out as the basic components of the MB IIB assemblage.¹⁶ These morphological differences could be due to the fact that the Hadidi corpus is derived essentially from domestic contexts and not from burials; if so it emphasises the connection between the goblet with flaring neck and carinated profile with use in mortuary contexts. Alternately, the absence of the taller rimmed variety at Hadidi may be accounted for on the basis of the incomplete and uneven evidence, or be seen to reflect temporal and/or regional variations manifested in the pottery types of the different sites. With this in mind it is perhaps worth noting Dornemann's comments concerning carinated cup types: "The stratigraphic development of such forms is not simple and straightforward, but a matter of popularity in usage at a given time. The rounded profiles occur throughout, as do the angular forms, though a general tendency toward angularity increases and seems most common late in the Middle Bronze Age."¹⁷

At el-Qitar the early second millennium B.C. remains have been retrieved from a test trench between buildings 14 and 15 in Area Y F/H-38; however, the main occupation of the site is dated to the late second millennium B.C.¹⁸ From the early strata a fair proportion of the jars are decorated with combed decoration. On some examples the wavy combed ornament is combined with raised rope mouldings remarkably similar to the broken burial jar from Tell Ahmar.¹⁹ Several carinated goblets, although fragmentary, were also found at el-Qitar, where they are categorized as made of a compact cream ware of excellent quality.²⁰

Excavations on Tell A at Halawa have yielded an extensive exposure of an early second millennium B.C. settlement. The pottery from *Schicht 2*, comprising three phases, has been dated in the early second millennium B.C.²¹ The pottery includes jars and kraters with combed decoration, jars

¹⁴ R.H. Dornemann, "Early second millennium ceramic parallels between Tell Hadidi-Azu and Mari," in G.D. Young (ed.), *Mari in Retrospect*, Winona Lake 1992, pp. 77-112.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 79, (cf. fig. 3:10,11,16).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, see figs. 3-6.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁸ W. Culican & T.L. McClellan, "El-Qitar: First season of excavations, 1982-1983," *Abr-Nahrain*, 22 (1984), pp. 29-63; T.L. McClellan, "El-Qitar: Second season of excavations, 1983-1984," *Abr-Nahrain*, 23 (1985), pp. 39-72; Id., "El-Qitar: Third season of excavations, 1984-1985," *Abr-Nahrain*, 24 (1986), pp. 83-106.

¹⁹ W. Culican & T.L. McClellan, *loc. cit.*, (n.18), fig. 5C.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²¹ J.-W. Meyer, "Grabungen im Planquadrat Q," in W. Orthmann (ed.), *Halawa 1977 bis*

with grooved rims, and small goblets with "S"-shaped profiles similar to those found at Tell Ahmar. In his analysis of the ceramics of *Schicht 2* (in particular 2b), J.-W. Meyer makes correlations between Halawa (MBA I/II) and the Hama H, Ugarit and Mardikh IIIA period pottery.²² In a later publication Meyer reports "Als Vergleiche zu den Keramikformen aus Halawa lassen sich vor allem Beispiele aus Siedlungen im Euphrattal (Hadidi, Tell Sweyhat), aber auch aus Ebla (Schicht IIIa) und Hama (Schicht H) anführen die alle die Datierung der Schicht 2 in eine relativ frühe Phase der Mittleren Bronzezeit (MBA I) bestätigen."²³

At Baghouz remains of a large number of graves have been excavated. Du Mesnil du Buisson suggests a short period of use for the site as a cemetery and dates the graves in the early second millennium B.C.²⁴ Of greatest interest are the presence of small goblets with "S"-sided profiles, similar to those from the burial at Tell Ahmar.

Orontes Valley: At Hama it is generally assumed phases H5-2 are early second millennium B.C. occupations.²⁵ Characteristic types include, among a wide range of other types, small goblets with carinated or "S"-shaped profiles.

The MBA period at Tell Mardikh may be distinguished by two phases, Mardikh IIIA and IIIB, which are dated to 2000-1800 B.C. and 1800-1600 B.C. respectively.²⁶ The ceramics assigned to Mardikh IIIA include open carinated bowls with high sharp carinations, ovoid jars with everted rims with two sharp edges, and plain everted goblets with low carinations. The Mardikh IIIB ceramics are characterised by the occurrence of rounded rather than carinated forms and the occurrence of ring bases.²⁷ The Tell Ahmar MBA burial vessels most closely resemble the pottery types of Mardikh IIIA.

The "Tomba della Principessa", also from Tell Mardikh, contained a repertoire of types which included bowls and goblets with carinations, as well

1979, Bonn 1981, pp. 10-35, Keramik p. 31; Id., "Die Grabungen im Planquadrat Q," in W. Orthmann (ed.), *Halawa 1980 bis 1986*, Bonn 1989, p. 28.

²² J.-W. Meyer, *loc. cit.* (n.21), 1981, p. 29.

²³ J.-W. Meyer, *loc. cit.* (n.21), 1989, p. 28.

²⁴ du Mesnil du Buisson, *Baghouz. L'ancienne Corsôt: Le tell archaïque et la nécropole de l'Age du Bronze*, Leiden 1948, p. 62 (goblets see pl. LXXXIX:z220, z211, z28). See also R.M. Engberg, "Tombs of the early second millennium from Baghus on the middle Euphrates," *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research*, 87 (1942), pp. 17-23.

²⁵ Cf. E. Fugmann, *Hama. Fouilles et recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg 1931-1938, II-1: L'architecture des périodes pré-hellénistiques*, Copenhagen 1958, pp. 86-116.

²⁶ P. Matthiae, *Ebla: An Empire Rediscovered*, London 1980, pp. 112-113, see also the table p. 113 (fig. 22).

²⁷ P. Matthiae, *ibid.*, pp. 139-149; see figs. 33-42.

as jars with grooved rims, bottles with narrow restricted necks, pot stands, and large krater-like vessels, with incised wavy and horizontal decoration.²⁸ P. Matthiae correlates the “Principessa” assemblage with Qatna, Hama and Yabrud.²⁹

Another MBA group of burials from Tell Mardikh have been discussed by F. Baffi Guardata.³⁰ The pottery from the “Ile groupe: sépultures sans connexions architectoniques” (in particular D 24 & D 26) includes the characteristic carinated goblet which the author parallels with similar types from the tombs at Qatna and from the “niveaux H3 et H2” at Hama.³¹

The site of Mishrifé, ancient Qatna, yielded a burial (Tomb I), which contained material remains belonging to the second millennium B.C. The presence of a small carinated goblet in this tomb may be compared with those from the burial at Tell Ahmar.³²

Tell Atchana (ancient Alalakh) has produced important second millennium B.C. occupations and significant related residual artefacts, including abundant pottery; however, the site suffers from the negative impact of early excavation techniques,³³ and has consequently been the subject of considerable chronological debate.³⁴ As T. McClellan notes, Alalakh has long been a key element in the widely used middle chronology,³⁵ however, much controversy still surrounds the precise attribution of individual strata at the site.³⁶ Despite these problems and of importance to our dis-

²⁸ P. Matthiae, “Scavi a Tell Mardikh-Ebla, 1978: Rapporto sommario,” *Studi Eblaiti*, I (1979), pp. 129-184.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 158. On the dating of the “Tomba della Principessa” (Mardikh IIIA) see pp. 160-162.

³⁰ F. Baffi Guardata, “Les sépultures d’Ébla à l’Âge du bronze moyen,” in H. Waetzoldt & H. Hauptmann (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla*, (Akten der Internationalen Tagung Heidelberg 4.-7. November, 1986), Heidelberg 1986, pp. 3-20.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7 and fig. 6:1,6., see also pl. II.

³² du Mesnil du Buisson, “Les ruines d’el Mishrifé au nord-est de Homs (Émèse),” *Syria*, 8 (1929), pp. 13-33, 277-301; Id., “Compte rendu de la quatrième campagne de fouilles à Mishrifé-Qatna,” *Syria*, 11 (1930), pp. 146-163. On renewed work at this site see M. al-Maqdissi, “Mishrifé/Qatna,” in H. Weiss (ed.), *Archaeology in Syria, AJA*, 101 (1997), pp. 132-133 (*chantier A & B*).

³³ C.L. Woolley, *Alalakh. An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937-1959*, Oxford 1955.

³⁴ For a schematic tabulation of previous research see T.L. McClellan, “The chronology and ceramic assemblage of Alalakh,” in A. Leonard & B. Williams (eds.), *Essays in Ancient Civilization Presented to Helene J. Kantor*, Chicago 1989, pp. 181-212, in particular fig. 26.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 181, McClellan states “... which in a sense was canonized by its adoption in the *Cambridge Ancient History*” (Cf. *CAH*, 3rd ed., Vol. I:1, Cambridge 1970, pp. xix-xx).

³⁶ M.-H. Gates, “Alalakh Levels VI-V: A chronological reassessment,” *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies*, 4/2 (1981); Ead., “Alalakh and chronology again,” in P. Aström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low?*, Gothenburg 1987, pp. 60-86.

cussion is the appearance of carinated goblets in Level VII.³⁷ The Level VII pottery marks a striking break in the ceramic tradition of earlier levels with the disappearance of the painted wares which had been a characteristic feature of the Alalakh assemblage since Level XVI.³⁸ In the description of the pottery Woolley states that "Level VII produced forty-two types, the vast majority of them coming from the Yarim-Lim palace and from his temple."³⁹

Balikh Valley: Hammam et-Turkman has produced a good sequence of MBA ceramics from operations in the step trench O and squares J-L 23 on the western slope.⁴⁰ Known as Period VII, according to the Hammam site terminology, this pottery may be sub-divided into three broad phases, VII:A-C.⁴¹ The Tell Ahmar burial pots find correlations with Hammam VII:3 (=VII B) and VII:5 (=VII C). It is reported that at Hammam a few goblets appear in the early strata; however, many new types seem to be introduced in stratum VII:3 (Hammam VII B).⁴² A goblet very similar to those from Tell Ahmar comes from stratum VII:3 at Hammam et-Turkman (cf. fig. 127:58).

Also at Hammam are 29 burials attributed to the MBA.⁴³ These come from area J-K 23 and K-M 24. L. Thissen states almost all of the graves are buried underneath floors or trodden surfaces, a situation not unrelated to Tell Ahmar, and with few exceptions most are children.⁴⁴ Of the 29 MBA burials Thissen differentiates three chronological groups (MB I, MB II, & MB II-LB). The Hammam Burial 6 from period VII:5, (containing a small carinated goblet and a bronze pin) and Burial 4, also from VII:5 (containing a large jar, two carinated goblets, two bone pins, plus string of beads with a stamp seal) are most like the Tell Ahmar burial (Feature 167).⁴⁵

The operations at Tell Bi'a on the northern part of the mound, in Area E, yielded a sequence of early second millennium B.C. remains. On the basis of the ceramics retrieved, Level Vb is dated to the early second millen-

³⁷ C.L. Woolley, *op. cit.* (n. 33), see 'Notes on Pottery Types' (in particular types 104 & 106) p. 328, (pl. CXIX:104b & 106a). According to the table on p. 337 carinated goblet types first appear in Level VII and continue, in varying quantities, in the subsequent levels.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 313-314.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

⁴⁰ H.H. Curvers, "The period VIII pottery," in M.N. Van Loon (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 7), pp. 398-455.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 415.

⁴³ See L. Thissen, "The burials," in M.N. Van Loon (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 7), pp. 143-179.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 57 & 60.

nium B.C.⁴⁶ The ceramics in the burials, II and III in Level IVa at Tell Bi'a are characterised by the presence of shouldered goblets, similar in shape to those found at Tell Ahmar.⁴⁷ In Area C more graves were found. Grave 39/23:1 contained cups with "S"-shaped profiles like those from Tell Ahmar.⁴⁸

Coastal Syria: A large communal MBA burial, containing 41 skeletons, was found at Tell Sukas, in sector G 11 SW.⁴⁹ The tomb (IV) was reused and, although much displacement of the skeletal remains was observed, a series of successive phases were distinguished. Ceramic beakers like those from Tell Ahmar were found in Level 1.

Also from the Syrian coast come several carinated beakers found in the tombs at Ras Shamra; ascribed to the "Ugarit Moyen 2 ou début de l'Ugarit Moyen 3."⁵⁰

Palestine: It is worth mentioning that several MBA burials, mostly found in caves, from this area share common ceramic attributes with contemporary graves in northern Syria. It should be noted, however, that despite general shape commonalities between regions, variations are also apparent. At Jericho many of the MBA tombs contained carinated goblets,⁵¹ although the shapes of the goblets from this site are more articulated and the end of the rim is often slightly off-set. The same applies with the carinated goblets from strata XII-XI at Megiddo⁵² and with a MB IIB vessel from the cemetery south of Rehov, near Beth Shean, where a complex of shaft tombs was found.⁵³

The pottery from the Tomb A group burial at Hagosherim, in Upper Galilee, contained an assemblage of 16 vessels, including an open bowl with modelled rim and a series of small vessels with carinated profiles.⁵⁴ The rims

⁴⁶ E. Strommenger *et al.*, "Ausgrabungen in Tall Bi'a 1984," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 118 (1986), p. 21.

⁴⁷ R. Arns *et al.*, "Ausgrabungen in Tall Bi'a 1982 und 1983," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 116 (1984), fig. 5:c,d.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-41, fig. 21.

⁴⁹ H. Thrane, *Sukas IV, A Middle Bronze Age Collective Grave on Tall Sukas*, Copenhagen 1978, fig. 48:48, 51-52.

⁵⁰ C.E.A. Schaeffer *et al.*, *Ugaritica II*, Paris 1949, fig. 105:15 tomb pt. 19, Ugarit. Moyen 2-Ugarit Moyen 3, also fig. 107:5 Ugarit Moyen 2; *Id.*, *Ugaritica IV*, Paris 1962, fig. 5A, p. 306, Ugarit Moyen 2; pl. XVI: 3, p. 294.

⁵¹ K.M. Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho, II*, London 1965, *passim*.

⁵² G. Loud, *Megiddo, II*, Chicago 1948, pl. 28:10 & 36:12.

⁵³ O. Yögev, "A Middle Bronze Age cemetery south of Tel Rehov," *'Atiqot*, 17 (1985), pp. 90-113, see fig. 3:5 (from T 6 11).

⁵⁴ K. Covello-Paran, "Middle Bronze burial caves at Hagosherim, Upper Galilee," *'Atiqot*, 30 (1996), pp. 71-83, see fig. 4:1,3-8.

of the goblets are shorter on the Hagosherim vessels compared with those from Tell Ahmar. At Zefat, in Upper Galilee, 51 vessels together with bronze toggle pins and a scarab were found in a burial cave dated to the MB II.⁵⁵ The carinated goblets look very similar to the Tell Ahmar examples.

Small cups or goblets with carinations are also represented in the collective MBA burial at Munhata.⁵⁶

Conclusion

The three MBA vessels considered in this report document a previously unknown ceramic tradition at Tell Ahmar. The correlation of the ceramic vessels with other site assemblages considered in this report, although far from exhaustive, calibrates these ceramic types to the first quarter of the second millennium B.C. in north Syria.⁵⁷ and more specifically to 1800-1750 B.C., a finding which is consistent with the temporal range offered by the cylinder seal and the toggle pin. While it is apparent that a range of different burial types (pot, pit, cist, tomb, cave, etc) are attested in north Syria and the neighbouring territories during the MBA the burial contents belong to a basic repertoire of commonly occurring types (pots — of which carinated goblets seem popular, toggle pins and occasionally cylinder seals) which reflect a shared response to the types of funerary offerings interred as part of the mortuary process.

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⁵⁵ E. Damati and Y. Stepanyk, "A Middle Bronze Age II burial cave on Mt. Canaan, Zefat (Wadi Hamra)," *Atiqot*, 29 (1996), pp. 1*-29* (Hebrew), pp. 107-108 (English summary) and fig. 5:1-3. p.4*.

⁵⁶ D. Ferenbach, A. Fueshpan & J. Perrot, "Une sépulture collective du Bronze Moyen II à Kh. Minha (Munhata), Israel," in G.M. Landes (ed.), *Report on Archaeological Work at Suwwanet eth-Thaniya, Tananir and Khirbet Minha (Munhata)*, (BASOR Supp. 21) 1975, pp. 87-117, fig. 5:9.

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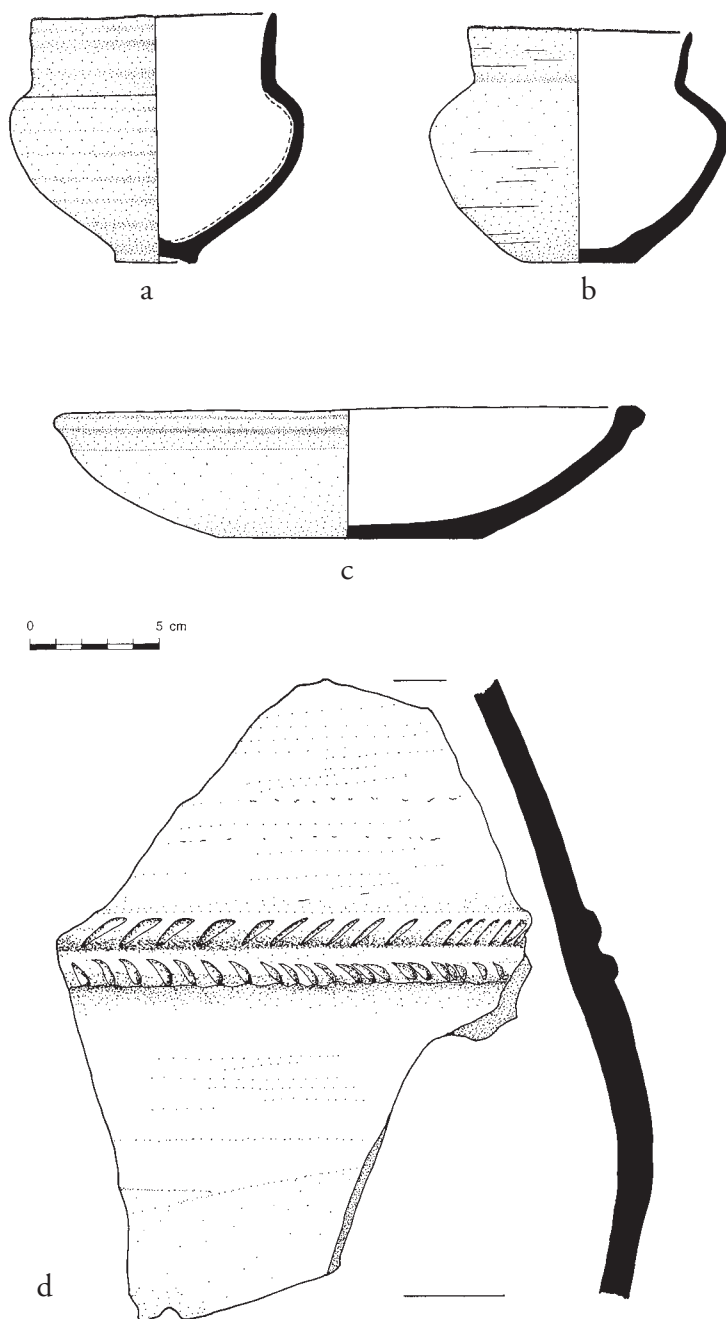


Fig. 5. Goblet TAH 94 S2+3/F167/PL420.1 (a); goblet TAH 94 S2+3/F167/PL422.2 (b); bowl TAH 94 S2+3/F167/PL421.1 (c); fragment of the jar burial F167 (d) (drawings A.S. Jamieson).

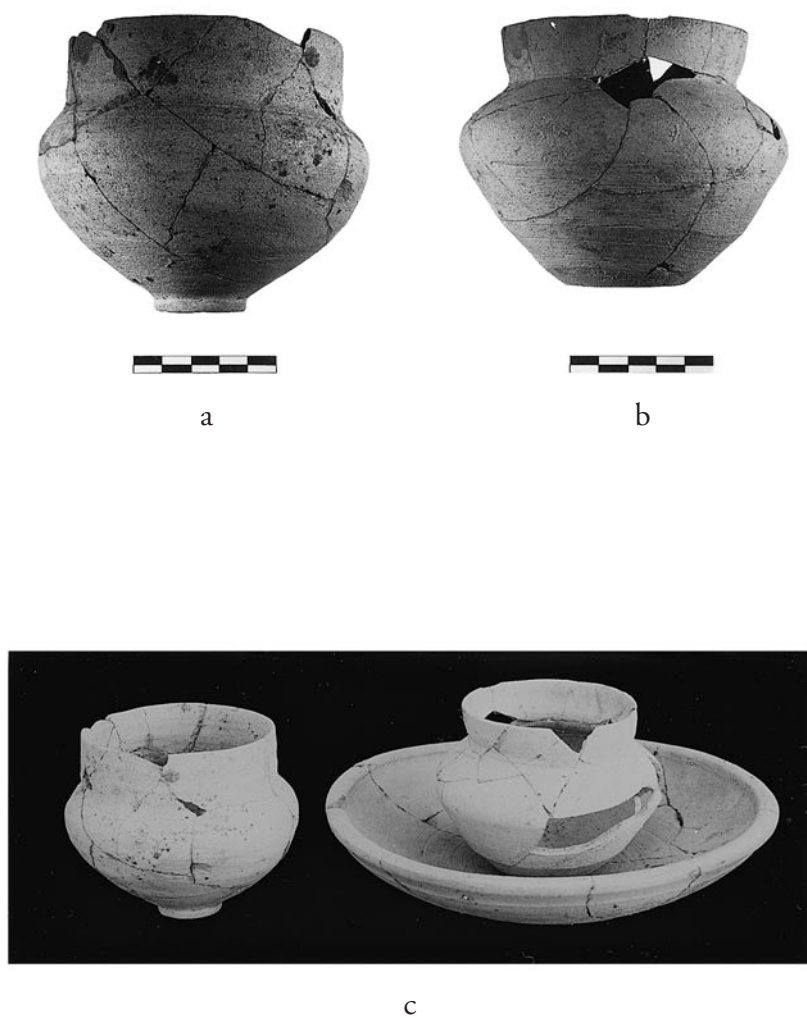


Fig. 6. Goblet TAH 94 S2+3/F167/PL420.1 (a); goblet TAH 94 S2+3/F167/PL422.2 (b); the three vessels from jar burial F167 (c) (photographs A. Abd el-Ghafour).

A MIDDLE BRONZE AGE CYLINDER SEAL FROM THE JAR BURIAL F167 AT TELL AHMAR

BY

ADELHEID OTTO

The cylinder seal TAH 94/S2+3/F167/O.179 was discovered in a jar burial at Tell Ahmar in 1994. It is now in the Aleppo National Museum as Tell Ahmar inv. No. 131. I am very grateful to the excavators G. Bunnens and A. Roobaert who offered me the opportunity to publish this seal.

My drawing is based on two photographs of an impression of the seal, which were generously provided by G. Bunnens. Additionally, I was able to examine the cylinder seal itself in April 1998 in the National Museum of Aleppo with the kind permission of W. Khayata.

Description (Fig.7)

The cylinder seal is of black stone, very probably haematite. It is 2.35 cm high, the diameter of the cylinder with slightly concave flanks measures at both of the ends 1.2 cm, in the middle 1.1 cm. The perforation, drilled from both ends, is not exactly central and has a diameter between 0.4 and 0.45 cm. The surface of the seal is chipped in several places and a major piece is missing from the lower edge of the seal. The surface is also quite worn, which makes the originally good modelling appear quite flat. The image on the seal consists of a primary scene and a secondary scene; the primary scene occupies twice as much space as the secondary scene.

The primary scene shows three principal figures. On the left stands a male figure wearing a mantle with slightly rolled borders going down to the knee. Under the mantle the figure wears a short kilt, of which the lower border is in the form of two horizontal strokes visible above the left knee. The head is covered with an oval cap. In front of this cap and at the calf and the thigh there are several major chips of the surface. The figure's right hand is held up in front of its mouth and its left hand carries an animal with long ears and a long tail which seems to have two ends. This animal, which at first sight seems to be a hare because of the long ears, is more probably a goat kid. This tame young animal is apparently being carried to one of the two female figures standing on the right.

One of these female figures is standing on top of a bull. She is naked except for a multiple necklace and has a distinctly marked navel and a slim waist. She is slightly knock-kneed and her legs are rendered in three sections: an oval thigh, a spherical knee and an elongated oval lower leg. She is lifting with both hands her skirt or veil which is rendered as a line of dots, hanging down as low as her knees. A second row of dots level with her hips may indicate the top of this garment. The upper ends of the line of dots, which appear above her hands, are almond-shaped.¹ The nude female figure is rendered *en face*, except for her calves and probably also her feet: her head appears to be turned to the left, towards the male figure. Unfortunately her head is damaged and only the back of her hair is visible, which is rendered as a high knot. Above her head there are two partly damaged objects visible, which are probably parts of a winged sun disc.² The bull, on which she is standing, has a hump and a distinctive mane rendered with short parallel strokes. The bull has a huge eye, a distinct muzzle and horns rendered *en face*. As far as it is visible, the bull is standing.³ In front of it is a Y-shaped object which might be a plant.⁴

On the other side of the primary scene stands a female goddess wearing a flounced garment and a horned crown and holding up her hands in front of her face. Unfortunately the seal is very worn in this part, so that many details of her face and costume have vanished.

Above the bull, between the legs of the naked woman and the goddess there is a V-shaped object, consisting of a broader and a narrower part. It is very worn but is probably a hand with a narrow palm and a long, stretched out thumb. A better preserved hand can be seen on the other side of the naked woman, approximately at the level of her knees. This hand is marked by very fine fingers and a long curved thumb. Between the heads of the

¹ These almond-shaped objects may be lotus buds and birds sitting on them are sometimes shown (Fig. 8); see also a terracotta-relief from Alalakh, AT/39/240, L. Woolley, *Alalakh. An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay 1937-1949*, Oxford 1955, pl. 440.

² Since the left part of the object is badly damaged, it seems unlike the right element. It is, however, most probable that the left object is the second wing of a winged sun disc, and not a part of a flying bird, since the head of the bird is not visible.

³ On some seals the bull, who carries the naked woman, is shown crouching; see B. Teissier, *Ancient Near Eastern Seals from the Marcopoli Collection*, Berkeley-London 1984, No. 477; E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections I. The Pierpont Morgan Library*, Washington 1948, No. 967 (here: Fig. 9).

⁴ A similar object in front of a bull is found on a seal from the Borowski Collection (Fig. 8). There it is tentatively interpreted as an altar, E. Williams-Forte, "Rollsiegel aus der Periode Altsyrisch II," *Archäologie zur Bibel. Kunstschatze aus den biblischen Ländern*, Mainz 1981, p. 257.

nude female and the male figure are a crescent and a sun disc, in which a double cross is inscribed.

The secondary scene is divided in two registers by a guilloche, which is enclosed by a horizontal line above and below. This guilloche has three cords and five coils. The lower register shows a squatting sphinx, turning to the left and raising one paw. Unfortunately the major part of the body is destroyed by a big chip. Nevertheless it is certain that the sphinx has a human head and a lion's body with a raised up, finely curved tail. A wing protrudes between the head and the tail. In the upper register two people are sitting face to face on two chairs, which are rendered with three legs and a distinct backrest. The seated figures are both dressed in flounced garments which leave one shoulder free, have short-cut hair rendered as several vertical strokes,⁵ and look quite similar. They are each holding a vessel in one hand, shown with an oval lower part and a separate upper part. From each of these vessels curved lines, leading into a larger jar, join together in the middle. The larger jar is shown with wider mouth and a large oval body above a smaller circular base or stand. There is a V-shaped element above the mouth of the jar.

Interpretation

The primary scene shows two figures on either side of a naked woman. These two figures belong to the standard repertoire of the Classical Syrian glyptic of the 18th century B.C. The male figure on the left, dressed with a mantle going down to the knee and an oval headdress, can be interpreted as a king. The female figure to the right, standing opposite him and lifting both hands, is usually called the suppliant goddess or goddess Lama.⁶

The scene of a king facing a goddess was a common motif in Babylonia, North Mesopotamia and Syria during the 18th century B.C. In the Classical Syrian glyptic of Syria and North Mesopotamia this motif was used only by members of the royal family and high officials. The motif of a king opposite a goddess is first encountered as the official motif on seals of Samsi-Adad's kingdom of North Mesopotamia,⁷ and was probably then adopted in the other Amorite kingdoms in Syria and North Mesopotamia, especially in the kingdoms of Yamhad, Carchemish, Qatna and Mari, to become the

⁵ Sometimes this is also interpreted as a cap.

⁶ A. Spycket, "La Déesse Lama," *RA*, 54 (1960), pp. 73-84.

⁷ A. Otto, "Zur offiziellen Ikonographie auf Siegeln aus der Regierung des Königs Samsi-Adad I," *APA*, 24 (1992), pp. 159-171.

standard motif for officials of these kingdoms. The motif was changed in the different kingdoms according to local traditions, but the depiction of this pair was clearly reserved for the administrative apparatus of the kingdoms.⁸

In North Mesopotamia and at Mari the left hand figure is always the king with the mace, that is, the king in his victorious aspect, with the suppliant goddess on the right. In Qatna, too, the same pair is depicted, but often in reversed direction and always expanded by a third figure and an elaborate secondary scene. In Yamhad the king is mostly depicted with one hand held in front of his mouth, carrying a sickle-sword in his other hand; here the aspect of a worshipper is mixed with that of a victor. Until the High Classical period he is dressed in a mantle, which may be plain or from fur and his hair is often long and falls down his back.⁹ In the Late Classical period he continues to be shown as a worshipper with victorious traits, but his dress changes: on many seals from the art market and on the seal impressions from Alalakh VII he wears most frequently a slightly higher, oval cap and a plain mantle with thickly rolled borders (*Wulstrandmantel*) (Fig. 11). These borders become thicker and thicker over time and the cloth is later wrapped two or even three times round the body.¹⁰ In the kingdom of Carchemish between the Early and the High Classical period the king wears a mantle reaching down to his calf with patterned borders and a *Breitrandkappe* (see for example the king on Fig. 8). He is not depicted in his aspect as a warrior, but as a worshipper. He can stand opposite the suppliant goddess or other goddesses, and sometimes the direction is turned around compared with the ones usual in Mari

⁸ This and the following statements are based on my investigation of Classical Syrian cylinder seals, submitted as a Ph.D. thesis in Berlin in 1995; it will be published soon in the UAVA-series (Berlin): A. Otto, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Klassisch-Syrischen Glyptik*. Therefore not all statements will be discussed in detail here.

⁹ Kings with mantles of fur appear only on seals from Yamhad: E. Porada, *op. cit.* (n.3), No. 945; D. Collon, *First Impressions. Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*, London 1987, No. 647; L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets assyro-babyloniens, perses et syro-cappadociens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1910, No. 435; one seal impression, found in room 11 of the palace of level VII at Alalakh (D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchanal/Alalakh*, Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn 1975, No. 26) must derive from an older seal of the High Classical Syrian period, which precedes the glyptic of Alalakh VII. The depiction of the mantle of fur on a Late Bronze Age seal (D. Collon, *op. cit.* [n.9], No. 266) shows that this dress survived after the end of the Middle Bronze Age, and was presumably the royal dress of Yamhad. As will be shown below, the “Wulstrandmantel”, which is the main royal dress worn from the time of Alalakh VII onwards, was probably taken over from South-West Syria or more precisely from Qatna.

¹⁰ On the late impressions of Alalakh VII the shawl is wound at least three times around the body of the king: D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchanal/Alalakh*, Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn 1975, No. 19.

and North Mesopotamia.¹¹ Here, too, a third figure is often added, another king, the weather god, or most frequently a naked woman, shown frontally with her head in profile and with her hair worn in a bun, depicted as three globes attached one to another (*Kugelfrisur*).¹²

We can thus state that during the first half of the 18th century B.C. in every Syrian and North Mesopotamian kingdom the motif of a pair, consisting of a king opposite a goddess, has the function of a state emblem, and was apparently reserved for state officials.¹³ Therefore one can suppose that the seal from Tell Ahmar also belonged to a state official. In which kingdom he could have been an official, will be discussed below.

Let us now consider the central figure of the primary scene, the naked woman standing on top of a bull. She is more difficult to identify than the two other figures of the main scene. First of all is she a mortal being or a goddess?

Because no horned crown is shown, her divine nature is not immediately evident. One of the peculiarities of North Syrian glyptic is the absence of headdresses for most of the figures, so that the nature of any person (divine, royal or other) cannot be distinguished immediately. In favour of her divine nature, however, is her position standing on a bull. Standing on top of animals is a privilege of deities, especially, though not exclusively, in North Syria and Anatolia (Figs. 7-10). The fact that she is standing on a bull, which is usually the animal associated with the weather god Baal / Adad / Teshub, is also a strong indication of her divine nature; furthermore it points to a connection with this god. Often the naked woman and the weather god are depicted together¹⁴ and on some

¹¹ See for example the seal of Matrunna, daughter of king Aplahanda of Carchemish: G.A. Eisen, *Ancient Oriental Cylinder and Other Seals with a Description of the Collection of Mrs William H. Moore*, OIP 47, Chicago 1940, No. 130.

¹² 1. Louvre AO 21116 (D. Collon, *op. cit.* [n.9], No. 190): this seal, found in Minat al-Baida, bears the inscription of a servant of Aplahanda. 2. Heeramaneck Coll. M.76.174.396 (P.R.S. Moorey, E. Porada *et al.*, *Ancient Bronzes, Ceramics and Seals. The N. Heeramaneck Collection*, Los Angeles 1981, No. 1199). 3: Marcopoli 440 (B. Teissier, *op. cit.* [n.3], No. 440). 4: Seal from Develi near Firaktin (A. Erkanal, *Anadolu'da Bulunan suriye kökenli mühürler ve mühür baskıları* [Die in Anatolien vorkommenden alsyrischen Siegel und Siegelabdrücke], Ankara 1993, pl. 29). 5: On seal LI 82/1 found in Lidar Höyük the king even embraces this naked woman (A. Erkanal *op. cit.*, pl. 34).

¹³ A. Otto, *art.cit.* (n. 7); *ead.*, "The collapse of the balance of power in the middle of the 18th cent. B.C. and its reflection in Syro-Mesopotamian glyptic," *Acts of the First Archaeological Congress, Rome, 1998*, forthcoming.

¹⁴ A. Schmidt, *Die Sammlung des Herrn Baron Guillaume Poche, Consul von der Czechoslovakie, Aleppo*, No. 37, No. 42, No. 43; A. Schmidt, *Rollsiegel im Museum der schönen Künste in Moskau (ehem. Slg. Golenischeff)*, Copenhagen 1930-33, No. 115, No. 116; *Geschnittene Steine der Antike*, Katalog Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel/Schweiz 1968, No. 40; C.H. Gordon, "Western Asiatic Cylinder Seals of the Walters Art Gallery," *Iraq*, 6 (1939),

seals the weather god holds on a leash the bull, on which the naked woman stands (Fig. 9).¹⁵

What is the meaning of this naked goddess?

A naked woman with head in profile and a *Kugelfrisur* hairstyle, but otherwise rendered frontally, was depicted in North Syria in three main variants (not including the most simple variant, where she stands with her arms hanging down or folded in front of her breasts).¹⁶

Variant 1: The naked woman lifts a cord-like object, which can be interpreted as a skirt or as a veil.¹⁷

Variant 2: The naked woman stands on a bull.¹⁸

Variant 3: The naked woman stands below an arch-shaped object.¹⁹

On many seals the different variants are combined. On the seal from Tell Ahmar Variants 1 and 2 are present, as is also the case on many other seals

pl. V.38, V.39; from Karum Kaniš Ib: N. Özgüç, *Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib from Karum Kanish*, Ankara 1968, pl. XXII 2. Already in the 19th century B.C. this motif appears in North Syria, as earlier, Old Syrian variants show: e.g. A. Schmidt, *Sammlung ... Poche*, No. 38; on the seal WAG C57 a woman, lifting her skirt and standing on a bull, stands opposite a figure, which E. Porada called "the warrior with plumed helmet" and who is an early form of the weather god: C.H. Gordon, *art. cit.* (n.14), pl. V.36; see also E. Porada, "The Warrior with Plumed Helmet," *Berytus*, 7 (1942), pp. 57-64.

¹⁵ E. Porada, *op. cit.* (n.3), No. 967; compare B. Teissier, *op. cit.* (n.3), No. 477.

¹⁶ These simple variants do not provide direct indications about her function, in contrast to the three other variants. However, when the forms of representation of the other variants are understood and when the contexts of these naked women are compared, the same character and the same meaning of the figures is evident.

¹⁷ I know about fifty examples, of which only one has a known provenance (from Tell Sukas: P.J. Riis, "L'activité de la Mission Archéologique Danoise sur la côte phénicienne en 1959," *AAAS*, 10 [1960], p. 129, fig. 20); the earliest examples date from the period of Kültepe, Karum Kaniš II (E. Williams-Forte, *art. cit.* [n.4], No. 129; A. Schmidt, *Sammlung ... Poche* [n. 14], No. 38).

¹⁸ B. Teissier, *op. cit.* (n. 3), No. 477. From Karum Kaniš Ib: N. Özgüç, *op. cit.* (n.14), pl. XXII 2. The motif of a naked woman standing on a bull is already attested in the 19th century B.C., as is shown by a seal impression from Acemhöyük with the so-called "warrior with plumed helmet" (see footnote 14): A. Erkanal, *op. cit.* (n.12), pl. 1; compare also H.H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs Agnes Baldwin Brett*, OIP 37, Chicago 1936, No. 85.

¹⁹ I know about twenty-five examples, only one of them with a precise find spot (from Ebla: H. Hammade, *Cylinder Seals from the Collections of the Aleppo Museum, Syrian Arab Republic*, 2. *Seals of Known Provenance*, BAR 597, Oxford 1994, No. 351), and three seals, which were bought in Jerablus, Gaziantep and Hatay (B. Buchanan, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum*, I: *Cylinder Seals*, Oxford 1966, No. 881; A. Erkanal, *op. cit.* [n.12], pl. 12. 13). A remarkable local variant from Lidar Höyük shows a dressed woman under a toothed arch (M. Mellink, "Archaeology in Anatolia," *AJA*, 94 [1990], pp. 134sq, fig. 11).

(Figs. 7-10).²⁰ Other seals combine Variants 1 and 3,²¹ others Variants 2 and 3.²² A rare example combines all three variants (Fig. 10). This seal proves, as well as the alternative combinations of Variants 1-3, that all the variants are but different forms of depictions of the same figure, that is to say the same goddess. Her interpretation as a rain goddess, proposed by M. van Loon,²³ appears clearly in all three forms of depictions. An (often winged) arch consisting of a guilloche, toothed, ladder-like, rope-like or other cord is easily understandable as an arch of water. Equally the lifting of the skirt or veil may be understood as a symbol, especially as the ends have the form of flower buds: because she is revealing her nudity in this way, this act may be interpreted as bringing fertility, arising from favourable weather or, more precisely, rain. The figure may therefore be interpreted as a goddess associated with the weather god, having the aspect of a fertility or rain goddess. A hare or a bird, which appears frequently in front of her face, may stress the aspect of fertility. The connection with the weather god leads one to speculate whether this goddess could be identified with Shala, the companion of the weather god.²⁴

The rain goddess appears on Syrian seals of the 18th century B.C. most frequently together with the weather god or with a king. This is very understandable in North Syria, where in the dry farming region the well-being of the people was immediately dependent on the amount and timing of the rain fall. The frequent depiction of the king together with the weather and rain gods may perhaps be seen as an attempt by the royal court to win the

²⁰ I know about twenty-five examples, all from the art market (except perhaps a half cylinder from Hazor; it was, however, found in a hoard in the Late Bronze Age level Ia: P. Beck, in: Y. Yadin *et al.*, *Hazor III-IV*, Jerusalem 1961/1990, pl. 319.1); e.g. B. Buchanan, *op. cit.* (n.19), Nos. 883, 884, 885; E. Porada, *op. cit.* (n.3), Nos. 942, 943; B. Buchanan, *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, New Haven-London 1981, No. 1241; G.A. Eisen, *op. cit.* (n.11), No. 157. For seals where she additionally faces the weather god, see footnote 14.

²¹ For example H.H. von der Osten, *Altorientalische Siegelsteine der Sammlung Hans Silviu von Aulock*, Uppsala 1957, No. 297; H.H. von der Osten, *op. cit.* (n.18), No. 90.

²² B. Teissier, *op. cit.* (n.3), No. 500; W.H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Washington D.C. 1910, BM 930; the naked woman on a bull and below an arch appears already on Old Syrian seals, where the arch is rendered as a rectangular box, clearly derived from the winged doorway of the Akkadian period.

²³ M. van Loon, "The Naked Rain Goddess," in P. Matthiae, M. van Loon, H. Weiss (eds.), *Resurrecting the Past. A Joint Tribute to Adnan Bounni*, Leiden 1990, pp. 363-378. See also M. van Loon, "The Rainbow in Ancient West Asian Iconography," in D.J.W. Meijer (ed.), *Natural Phenomena*, Amsterdam 1992, pp. 149-168.

²⁴ M. van Loon, *art. cit.* 1990 (n. 23), p. 363, correctly argues against an identification with Ishtar. Usually in the ancient Near East it is assumed that the naked women have a sexual aspect, and often they are interpreted as the goddess Ishtar; this is certainly an unjustified oversimplification, which obstructs the view on more differentiated interpretations.

favour of these gods. The presence of the rain goddess facing the king on the seal from Tell Ahmar may have had the same purpose: to secure good conditions for the kingdom of this particular royal official.

The meaning of the secondary scene on the seal of Tell Ahmar cannot be interpreted with certainty. The two people in the upper register, depicted in the course of a symposium, could perhaps be an abbreviated rendering or a symbol for certain ceremonies. The two figures, sitting opposite each other, most frequently hold vessels in their hands, while between them stands a table with bread loaves (Fig. 10). On a few seals only the symposiasts hold beakers in their hands, from which drinking straws lead into an huge jar, like that on this seal from Tell Ahmar.²⁵ Because the rendering of such symposia are often found on seals, where weather or watergods (Figs. 7, 8, 10)²⁶ or the goddess in a half cloak are depicted, one could assume that these ceremonies were perhaps connected to religious feasts, perhaps taking place during the annual return of the rainy season. The geographical distribution of this scene can be determined quite clearly: it appears rarely in Yamhad or in South West Syria, but often in North Syria.²⁷

The meaning of the sphinx in the lower register is equally difficult to determine. Normally the sphinx on seal designs is described merely as a Syrian filling motif.²⁸ One should consider the fact, however, that the male sphinx in Egypt symbolizes kingship or royal power.²⁹ Since Egyptian influence during this period is especially strong on Syrian glyptic,³⁰ the very common rendering of a sphinx on Syrian seals could point to a similar symbolic value and could perhaps stand for the royal power.

²⁵ See for example E. Porada, *op. cit.* (n.3), No. 968; L. Delaporte, *Musée du Louvre, Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental*, II. *Acquisitions*, Paris 1923, A. 897.

²⁶ See also B. Teissier, *op. cit.* (n.3), No. 478; E. Porada, *op. cit.* (n.3), No. 968; L. Delaporte, *op. cit.* (n.25), A. 897.

²⁷ From Acemhöyük: N. Özgüç, "Seal Impressions from the Palaces at Acemhöyük," in E. Porada (ed.), *Ancient Art in Seals*, Princeton 1980, pl. III-14; from Alishar Höyük: H.H. von der Osten, *The Alishar Höyük Seasons of 1930-32. Part II*, OIP 29, Chicago 1937, pp. 207-209, fig. 246; from Tell L/Iedis near Alalakh: D. Collon, *The Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, Oxford 1982, No. 16; especially similar is the secondary scene on a seal from Oylumhöyük, a Tell between Carchemish and Aleppo: A. Erkanal, *op. cit.* (n.12), pl. 30,1.

²⁸ For a general discussion of the so-called filling motifs, see D. Collon, "Filling Motifs," in: U. Finkbeiner *et al.* (eds.), *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens, Festschrift für R.M. Boehmer*, Mainz 1995, pp. 69-76.

²⁹ B. Teissier, *Egyptian Iconography on Syro-Palestinian Cylinder Seals of the Middle Bronze Age*, OBO 11, Fribourg 1996, pp. 192-195.

³⁰ See B. Teissier, *op. cit.* (n.29).

The date of the seal

The iconography and style are the most important features for dating this seal. The style of the seal is very distinctive. The figures are slender and have quite elongated limbs. They are finely carved, with well modelled bodies on which many fine details are rendered with great care. The lines are rounded and sharp edges are rare. A further stylistic peculiarity is the frequent use of the drill, which appears here in three sizes: bigger drillholes can be seen on the cheeks of the king, of the goddess and of the sphinx and at the muzzle of the bull; smaller drillholes appear at the foot of the big jar in the secondary scene, and at the knee of the naked goddess; and tiny drillholes are found at the skirt of the naked goddess, at the front border of the king's mantle, and between the coils of the guilloche. A further important indication for the dating of the seal is the way the edges of the king's mantle are depicted as rolled borders, which are not very wide. Behind the shoulder they are marked only as a narrow line.

Comparable cylinder seals come from the antiquities market except for one example.³¹ The closest comparison in every respect (primary scene, secondary scene, and style) is a cylinder in the Louvre.³² Another similar seal belonged to a servant of unknown rulers named Tarikila and Kik-Teshub,³³ names which could point to a Hurrian and possibly North Syrian origin. The only provenienced piece (Fig. 11) was found in the Middle Bronze Age II grave LVII in Ugarit, together with a second clearly North Syrian seal.³⁴ These seals differ distinctly from those of Alalakh VII. In the seal from Tell Ahmar and the comparable pieces, the rolled borders of the mantle of the king are much thinner, the oval headdress is less high, the forms are less compact, and the stylisation of the bodies is less mannered. They are evidently older than the seals from Alalakh VII, where the oldest ones were aptly nicknamed "baroque".³⁵

³¹ E. Porada, *op. cit.* (n.3), Nos. 951, 954; B. Teissier, *op. cit.* (n.3), No. 452.

³² L. Delaporte, *op. cit.*, (n.25), A. 932 (AO 7296), haematite 19 x 9. Because it was a gift of Thureau-Dangin, I first supposed that it could have been acquired in the vicinity of Til Barsib or Arslan-Tash. But the seal was given already in 1919 to the Louvre, before Thureau-Dangin's contact with this region.

³³ L. Delaporte, *op. cit.* (n. 9), No. 495.

³⁴ R.S. 9.889; P. Amiet, *Corpus des cylindres de Ras Shamra-Ougarit*, II. *Sceaux-cylindres en hématite et pierres diverses, Ras Shamra-Ougarit IX*, Paris 1992, No. 41; the second seal found in the same grave is clearly North Syrian and Classical Syrian, too: P. Amiet *op. cit.*, No. 36.

³⁵ D. Collon, *op. cit.* (n.10), p 140; according to her a development of style is observable within Alalakh level VII, "which leads away from solid shapes and figures towards thinner, more spidery ones".

Most of the motifs of this seal have their best parallels in the Classical Syrian period of about the middle of the 18th century B.C., that is during the time of Zimri-Lim of Mari and slightly later. These are mainly the secondary scene, the suppliant goddess and the nude goddess standing on a bull. Other elements of the seal, especially the mantle and headdress of the king, however, show stylistical peculiarities, which date slightly later within the Classical Syrian glyptic. They belong to the latest phase of the Classical Syrian style.³⁶ Therefore this seal should be attributed to the third quarter of the 18th century B.C. (Middle Chronology).

Reflections about the provenance of the seal

As discussed above, the seal must have belonged to a state official of a Syrian kingdom. Now we may ask the question of which kingdom was the owner of the seal from Tell Ahmar an official?

Several indications point to an origin in Carchemish for this seal, mainly the rain or fertility goddess and the secondary scene. These two elements can hardly be imagined to occur in this way outside the North Syrian region surrounding Carchemish. In Yamhad for example there are nearly no examples for a naked woman, as D. Collon already has stated.³⁷ The king, however, finds the closest parallels to the rendering of his clothes, his pose and his style in Yamhad, shortly after the High Classical period, that is after the end of the reign of Zimri-Lim of Mari³⁸ and before the period of Alalakh VII; this corresponds approximately to the time of the king Hammu-rapi I and the early years of king Abban in Yamhad. The above mentioned seal from grave LVII in Ugarit (Fig. 11), on which the king's robe is depicted like that on the seal from Tell Ahmar, is attributed by D. Collon to her Aleppo workshop³⁹ and may be one of the earliest pieces within her group.

Since on the one hand the rendering of the king on the seal from Tell Ahmar is typical for Yamhad in the third quarter of the 18th century B.C., and since on the other hand the seal shows many characteristics for the region around Carchemish, we may consider two hypotheses concerning the

³⁶ For the term "Classical Syrian glyptic" see E. Porada, "Syrian Seals from the Late Fourth to the Late Second Millennium," in: H. Weiss (ed.), *Ebla to Damascus, Art and Archaeology of Ancient Syria*, Washington 1985, pp. 90-104. The further subdivisions are the results of my thesis, see footnote 8.

³⁷ D. Collon, "The Aleppo Workshop," *UF* 13 (1981), p. 34.

³⁸ Only afterwards the court of Yamhad seems to have taken over the royal dress of Qatna.

³⁹ D. Collon, *art.cit.* (n.37), No. 1.

provenience of the seal. Both are closely connected with the political situation in North Syria. These hypotheses can hopefully be solved in the future, when we have better information about the fate of North Syria and Carchemish after the destruction of Mari in 1759 B.C. At the moment we know only that in Carchemish, after the long reign of king Aplahanda (from at least 1795 to 1765), first his son Yatar-ami reigned for three years (1764-1762) and then a second son named Yahdun-Lim came to the throne. How long he reigned, is not certain. But since after the fall of Mari an increasing predominance of Yamhad over the whole of North Syria can be supposed, its influence reaching even into the Habur-triangle as far as Tell Leilan-Shehna, one could speculate whether Carchemish was also subject to Yamhad or was perhaps even administratively incorporated in the kingdom of Yamhad. In this case the iconography of the seal could be interpreted in the following way: the seal was cut for a state official of the kingdom of Yamhad, who had close connections to Carchemish. Since the seal was found in a grave only twenty kilometres south of Carchemish, one could postulate that the seal belonged to an official of the kingdom of Yamhad, who worked in Carchemish in the third quarter of the 18th century B.C.

If the kingdom of Carchemish remained independent after 1759 B.C., there is a second possibility: one could suppose that the royal dress of Carchemish (or at least the way it was depicted) changed in the second half of the 18th century B.C., apparently at the same time as the robe changed in Yamhad, too.⁴⁰ Why this change occurred is still an unanswered question.

Conclusions

The cylinder seal TAH 94/S2+3/F167/O.179, which was found in a grave in Tell Ahmar, is probably the seal of a royal official, who resided in Carchemish or in its surroundings. He could have worked – depending on the political situation of Carchemish at that time – either for the kingdom of Yamhad or for the kingdom of Carchemish. These circumstances would explain, too, why the cylinder was deposited in a grave here, only twenty kilometres downstream of Carchemish. The seal was quite certainly cut in Carchemish during the period between the destruction of Mari and before the beginning of Alalakh VII, that is between 1759 and c. 1720 B.C.

⁴⁰ Perhaps these two kingdoms took over the royal dress, which may occur earlier in Qatna and South West Syria; or perhaps the standardization of the royal dress occurred in the whole of Syria at the same time.

Since we cannot hope that the layers of the early second millennium B.C. in the capital city of Carchemish will be excavated in the near future, since from Carchemish and other settlements of the kingdom very few seals have been recorded,⁴¹ and since in general provenanced seals from this period and region are extremely rare, this seal from Tell Ahmar becomes especially important for the history of the third quarter of the 18th century B.C. in North Syria.

⁴¹ It can be supposed that many seals sold in Aleppo came from the Carchemish region, such as those now in the Museum of Aleppo or in the Marcopoli, Poche and other collections. There are probably other seals from the kingdom of Carchemish in the museums of Gaziantep, Marash and Urfa; see also the seal from Oylumhöyük (footnote 27), a site which either belonged to the kingdom of Carchemish or to Yamhad.

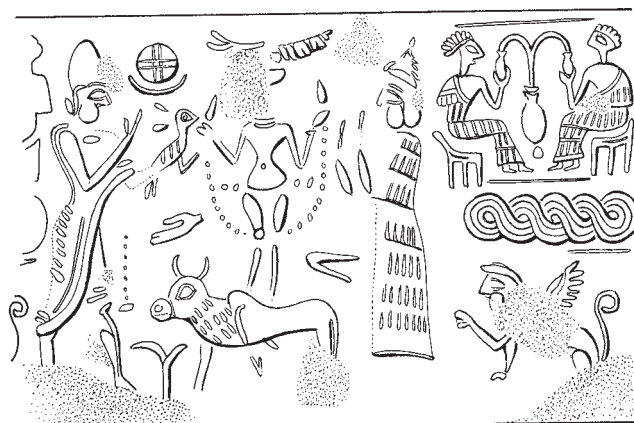


Fig. 7. Impression of seal TAH 94/S2+3/F167/O.179 from Tell Ahmar (drawing: A. Otto, inked by C. Wolff; photograph G. Bunnens).



Fig. 8. Borowski Collection: Williams-Forte, *art. cit.* (n. 4), p. 257, fig. 209. Haematite, 22 × 11.6 mm; Early Classic, Carchemish-group (drawing: C. Wolff).



Fig. 9. Porada, *op. cit.* (n. 3), No. 967. Limonite, 25 × 13 mm; Early Classic, North Syria (drawing: C. Wolff).



Fig. 10. Porada, *op. cit.* (n. 3), No. 944. Haematite, 17 × 11 mm; Late Classic, North Syria (drawing: C. Wolff).

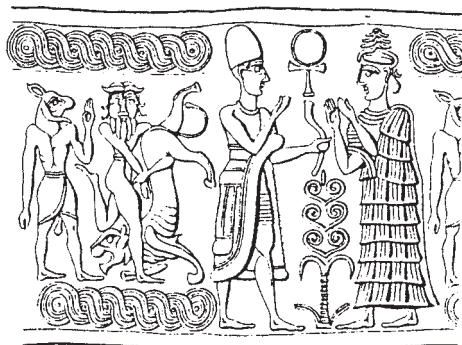


Fig. 11. Amiet, *op. cit.* (n. 34), No. 41. Haematite, 24.5 × 11 mm; Late Classic, Aleppo workshop.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

NATAN SHAHAM'S *THE ROSENDORF QUARTET* —
A MICROCOSM OF THE GERMAN JEWISH EXPERIENCE*

BY

ZIVA SHAVITSKY

Grouped with other authors of the Palmach generation,¹ Shaham is said to derive his inspiration from the events that led to the establishment of Israel. He seeks to understand the individual struggle integral to this process and the introspection that many underwent during the interwar period. His work is a contemplation of Zionism and the creation of a uniquely Israeli culture, as well as a questioning of the role of art as a counterweight to politics and the importance of the connection to Europe for exiled Jews.² Eliezer Shteinman, Natan Shaham's father, was the one to suggest the concept of 'a 24-hour author', advocating 'art for art's sake',³ and as such was a pioneer in twentieth-century Hebrew Literature, and Shaham has followed in his footsteps, creating introspective and self-aware literature. Yet Gershon Shaked claims that the political context from which Shaham emerged was more influential than his father's body of work.⁴

The Rosendorf Quartet was published in 1987, and later translated by Dalya Bilu. Shaham returns to German Jewry after its depiction in his earlier novel *First Person Plural* (1968), that portrays the acclimatization of the German immigration into the kibbutz community. *The Rosendorf Quartet* deals with five exiled German immigrants from Berlin, living in Tel Aviv in the 1930s.⁵ They are four musicians in the Palestine Philharmonic Orchestra

* This article is part of an ongoing research project dealing with the representation of German Jewry in twentieth century Hebrew Literature.

¹ Such as Aharon Megged; see Ziva Shavitsky, "The Depiction of German Jewry in Stories by Aharon Megged and Israel Zarmi," *Australian Journal of Jewish Studies*, 11 (1997).

² See J. Harvey, "Notes in Exile," *Indianapolis Met Area* (27th October 1991).

³ Avraham Hagorni, "Natan Shaham," *Literature of Our Day*, p.77.

⁴ Gershon Shaked, "Are We Always in First Person Plural," in Shimon Shor and Leah Hadomi, *Telling of the Kibbutz*, Tel-Aviv 1990, p.177.

⁵ Menucha Gilboa writes in "Natan Shacham, Rosendorf Quartett" that "*Rosendorf Quartett ist ein Buch über Kammermusik, die Emigration deutscher Kultur, die Entstehung des Staates Israel — über die Zusammenarbeit und die Leidenschaft von vier Menschen, die der Vernichtung entkommen sind.*"

(now the Israeli Philharmonic) who form a chamber music string quartet, and a German immigrant author. In Palestine these characters aim to establish a 'temple of culture',⁶ where they could preserve some of the dwindling beauty of Western Europe. Hence they are remnants in a double sense, as Jews and as the last vestiges of the essence of German culture.⁷ They are exiles in a country where language and culture must be reinvented, and where their own is rejected; this forces Shaham's characters to re-evaluate their concept of *home*.⁸

Shaham depicts a refined cultural milieu, yet one seen by the public as comprised of 'snobbish Yekkim'.⁹ The protagonists' yearning for a return to the country that brutally regurgitated them, and their aspiration to erect a temple for the culture in which they were suddenly refused recognition, arouses contempt in much of the public. Yet Shaham does not dwell on this point. Rather, he places these immigrants' perspective at the forefront of the novel and seems to revel in the alienating effect of Tel Aviv in the 30s — a 'suburb of a nonexistent city'¹⁰ as seen through the eyes of these estranged individuals. Each figure 'authors' a chapter in the book, in which a dark personal secret is revealed. This sympathetic yet critical author depicts the essence of the German Jewish condition.

Despite his grouping with the Palmach generation writers, Shaham's depiction of the 'ascent' to Israel does not accord with the Zionist slogans of the *ingathering of exiles* or the *melting pot*.¹¹ The Zionist body is shown through the eyes of migrants who refused to acclimatize to the folklore and the landscape of the Levantine east, with the exclusion of Conrad Friedman, the youngest of the protagonists, who advocates Zionism. Yet all the characters in *The Rosendorf Quartet* assert in either their actions or manifestos, that artistic destiny is more important than familial or national destiny,¹² and herein lies the newness of Shaham's work as a Palmach generation writer.

The book is structured in accordance with its content. The story of five alienated individuals is presented in five sections — the journal excerpts and letters of each of the five individuals. It creates a 'sketched documenta-

⁶ Leah Fuchs, "Art is the Eternal Yearning for the Moment Before Realisation," *Hadoar New-York, Shana 68* (24th March 1989).

⁷ See Carol Malkin, "Reaching for Harmony in a Dissonant World," *Newsday* (17th December 1991).

⁸ Mark Miller, "Israeli Novel in an Elegant Translation," *The Washington Times* (15th September 1991).

⁹ Yehudit Katzir, "How Did the Yekkim Wilt Here?," *Colbo Haifa* (21st August 1987).

¹⁰ Natan Shaham, *The Rosendorf Quartet* (trans. Dalya Bilu), New-York 1988, p.272.

¹¹ Iri Rikin, "The Documentary Trio," *Maariv* (13th November 1992).

¹² See Avraham Hagorni, "Four Who Know," *Davar*, (16th October 1987).

tion¹³ of the reality of the protagonists. There is no narrator and the reader examines the lives of these individuals from five different perspectives, as they discuss themselves and others. These voices are given equal significance in the novel.¹⁴ Shaham analyzes the way we understand others and their actions, and this theme is amply reflected in the structure of the novel.¹⁵

It opens with the private writings of Kurt Rosendorf on his voyage to Palestine. He comes to the future Israel at the invitation of Bronislaw Huberman (an historical figure) a violinist-conductor from Poland who sets up the Palestine Symphonic Orchestra, which soon takes on great symbolic national value in Palestine. Soon after arriving in Palestine, Rosendorf establishes a string quartet with himself as its leader — the first violin. The quartet soon becomes his main reason for existence, as he left his career and family in Germany. Israel for Kurt is a temporary asylum; Tel-Aviv is a miserable city built on sand. Kurt is a gentle and feminine man, and a fine musician. He appears as completely Aryan,¹⁶ and is indeed a 'Jewish Aryan'¹⁷ in character. His deep sadness and pride are said to be his Jewish features.¹⁸

In Germany, his marriage to a Christian woman, his successful musical career and his cultivation of a daughter with great potential for following in his path embodies the image of the assimilated German Jew. He yearns and works towards pure sounds, and similarly demands of each person a pure approach towards life. Given the reality that surrounds him — including that of Germany — does not accord with his noble aspirations, he is a somewhat tragic figure.¹⁹ He is endlessly tortured by his own human weaknesses,²⁰ which prevent him from attaining utmost discipline and control over his desires. Eventually Kurt reaches a compromise between that which he yearns for — be it a return to Germany or excellence in music — and that which constitutes his reality; he ends up remaining in Israel, and wedding his teenage pupil who possesses less than average musical talent. This compromise between the ideal and the real is the essence of the composition of the new Israeli society according to Shaham's outlook.²¹

¹³ Iri Rikin, *op.cit.* (n. 11).

¹⁴ See A. B. Yoffe, "The Musical Life," *Al-Hamilim*, (9th October 1987).

¹⁵ See Tali Azriel, "Each Man and His Cup of Tea," *Moznaim*, (January 1988).

¹⁶ Dov Vardi, "Natan Shaham," *Aretz*, 1989.

¹⁷ Y. Amos, "A Musical Halo to an Acclaimed Book," *Hatsofe* (4th September 1987).

¹⁸ Y. Amos, *op.cit.* (n. 17).

¹⁹ In many ways Kurt Rosendorf is a remnant of Stefan Zweig's *The World of Yesterday* (1941).

²⁰ Amnon Ahineomi, "It Was Hard for Them Too" (14th October 1987).

²¹ Avraham Hagorni, *op.cit.* (n. 12), p.78.

Conrad Friedman, 27 years old, is the only character for whom the presence in Israel is not an exile;²² he in fact embraces his new home with a “fiercely self-critical appetite”.²³ The quartet becomes his second home, after the kibbutz Ben-Shemen. Kurt chose Friedman to play the second violin in the quartet not only for his musical adeptness, but also for his ability to reflect the first violin, played by Kurt himself. Paradoxically, Friedman expresses through his music and character strong conviction and an uncompromising manner with the audience — be it the one in the concert hall or the audience of readers. Friedman remains a modest yet serious character. He is seen at times as a romantic idealist, once forfeiting music for manual labour due to ideological convictions,²⁴ and indeed, the violist Eva sees Conrad as a martyred saint. He states that a musician sweeping up manure is enriched with values that musicians in an orchestra will never know. Friedman sees in the playing of music before an audience of labourers the realization of the Zionist mission,²⁵ and admits feeling guilt for his devotion to music over building the country. Despite all his faults — his youthful innocence and endless rhetoric — Friedman seems a complete man.

Friedman’s father remains in Germany despite Conrad’s insistence that he joins him in Palestine. His father is orthodox, a man who possesses ‘scrupulous honesty, fairness in business, thrift, punctuality, cleanliness and orderliness, impeccable attire, and decency in speech’.²⁶ His father thus represents all that was good in the German middle class.²⁷ Eventually, we discover through an offhand remark of the cellist that the father had committed suicide. This reveals in a poignant manner the trauma that underlies the events of the novel.

Eva Von Staubenfeld, the only daughter to a Jewish woman in Germany — in turn estranged from her husband’s family for their class differences, is also thrust onto the foreign shores of the Mediterranean. Similarly to Kurt, she carries her trauma with German stubbornness and Jewish pride. Throughout her life she feels as if all her sufferings are attributed to her Jewish half and upon arrival in Palestine is dumbfounded by her presence in a place for Jews to congregate in. Friedman says of Eva that she is a typical German — complicated, sentimental and brutal. She considers men de-

²² See Heda Boshes, “Chamber Music as a Way of Life,” *Haaretz* (17th August 1987).

²³ *The Kirkus Reviews* (15th June 1991).

²⁴ See Dov Vardi, *op.cit.* (n. 16).

²⁵ Yehudit Katzir, *op.cit.* (n. 9).

²⁶ Natan Shaham, *The Rosendorf Quartet*, p.142.

²⁷ As stated by Carol Malkin, *op.cit.* (n. 7).

fective models of humanity, and is aware of her irresistibility, utilizing it for her own pleasure. Her name — Eve, illustrates the manner in which she resembles the image of an evil temptress.

An excellent musician, she is chosen as the violist for the quartet. She is absorbed by a deep boredom which only music can alleviate. All her life she yearned to play chamber music. The irony is evident in that her dreams were only realized in this god-forsaken place into which she was thrust without any enthusiasm; she can realize this aspiration only in a country far inferior in its appreciation of high art than her homeland. She takes upon herself the responsibility to establish the balance in the quartet, yet becomes the main source of imbalance in the personal relationships that form around it. She is said to be the fulcrum of the group's sexual tensions²⁸ but also highlights the other characters' feelings of estrangement. Eva remains throughout the story an eternal enigma, almost like a difficult musical piece. She is a *femme fatale*, icy yet irresistible. 'Her eyes give off warmth, and her lips — venom'.²⁹ She draws men to her, yet her traumatized experience with men has scarred her forever and she cannot enjoy their love. Rosendorf sees Eva as the embodiment of art and like art, she must remain an unsolved mystery. She possesses the fatal beauty of a *Wagnerian Brunhilde*.³⁰

Bernhard Litovsky, the cellist of the quartet, occupies a secondary position in the novel. He is a great performer but ultimately a conformist. The other protagonists see him as shallow, and Kurt states that despite being an excellent cellist, Litovsky is an unbalanced man who changes his views too frequently. He is initially a bystander, uninvolved in the quarrels within the quartet, enjoying the tension between the characters. He becomes increasingly involved as he too finds himself attracted to Eva.

Litovsky, a physical and athletic man, previously enlisted in the German Army, joins an anti-British resistance movement in Palestine. His writings attest to a non-ideological motivation, and in fact Shaham fails to portray Litovsky's character in a persuasive and coherent manner. His interest in music is not explained as passionately as with the other members of the quartet.

The coda, that is the last chapter, written in the voice of Egon Lowenthal, becomes an intellectual climax for the novel where Shaham is allowed to raise questions about Israel, immigration, and Jewish identity.³¹

²⁸ George Robinson, "An Inharmonious Quartet," *Beth-Am Messenger* (September 1991).

²⁹ Natan Shaham, *op.cit.* (n. 26), p. 288.

³⁰ Dov Vardi, *op.cit.* (n. 16).

³¹ See Mark Miller, *op.cit.* (n. 8).

Lowenthal is a German author who traveled aboard the same ship as Kurt to Palestine after being held in the Dachau concentration camp. He too is an exile, not only from his homeland but also from his mother tongue, for music can be the motherland of the stateless, and as he says but language cannot — language does not transcend borders, as does music. Authors do not possess the nomadic adaptability of musicians.³² Lowenthal and Rosendorf befriend each other and soon Lowenthal becomes a close companion of the quartet. In Palestine he found a temporary refuge, a 'nightly asylum' to use Herzl's term for Uganda.³³ Narrating the last chapter of the book and sketching his ideas for a novel about the quartet, the reader realizes that Lowenthal is a reflection of Shaham himself. As he ponders the breakdown of modern institutions and moral standards he decides to structure the book without heroes and without an overriding narrative. Lowenthal wishes his novel to be a mosaic; one with no plot and no dominant figure, for the events in Germany turned him into a 'chamber music man'.³⁴

Lowenthal too, similarly to Kurt, seeks purity and beauty in music as with art in general. The tragic quality of this aspiration is revealed to him towards the end of the novel, after his attraction to Eva was realized. The complete absence of love or compassion in her lovemaking and her attitude to men leads Lowenthal to the conclusion that music, lust and beauty have become an emotionless and soulless body. In addition, his attempts to create a novel without a narrator, a novel celebrating the chamber music way of life, evidently fails, for the reader eventually realizes that the voices of the four members of the quartet were in fact written by Lowenthal who becomes an all-knowing narrator. At the end of the novel, we notice many elements, which Lowenthal intended to exclude. Our yearning for an objective voice had not been fulfilled. There is a failure to dismiss traditional literary techniques and exist without them, without an overriding structure and order.

It has been suggested that Shaham's depiction of German immigrants in Israel bears no resemblance to their actual disposition, and that his inspiration stems merely from artistic imagination.³⁵ However, the life of Viennese-Jewish author Stefan Zweig, an exemplary thinker of inter-war West European Humanism, stands out in its similarity to the lives depicted in *The Rosendorf Quartet*. Solomon Liptzin writes of Zweig that during the

³² Leslie Brenner, "In short," *The New York Times Book Review*, (6th October 1991).

³³ Y. Amos, *op.cit.* (n. 8).

³⁴ Heda Boshes, *op.cit.* (n. 22).

³⁵ Anat Jütte, "Schubert gegen das Heimweh."

inter-war period he “strove for the humanistic ideal and sought, beyond the wrangling of chauvinistic politicians, a unity of peoples in a Europe in which hatred and distrust between neighboring nations and between Jews and Gentiles within each nation would be wholly eradicated”.³⁶ This utopian aspiration resembles that of Kurt Rosendorf. Being an author in exile from his homeland, Zweig speaks of being a lingual as well as a physical exile, reflecting Egon Lowenthal's condition. In *The World of Yesterday*, Zweig's posthumously published autobiography, he describes the Jewish refugees from Europe, and states that they “experiences their Judaism as a heavy burden rather than a glorious distinction... their deepest yearning was to be dissolved among their neighbors, to be assimilated to the non-Jews, to be completely Germans”.³⁷ This excerpt describes perfectly the sentiment of Shaham's protagonists.

The quartet is a microcosm revealing the complexity of the German Jewish experience. It is said that incidents such as Litovsky's involvement with the Israeli underground or Eva's manipulation of men are “resolutely suggestively subordinated to a polyphonic meditation on the string quartet as a microcosm of pre-war society”.³⁸ Unlike the music cultivated by the Third Reich — large orchestral symphonies laden with enticing propaganda³⁹ — chamber music is said by Shaham to be the essence of fair human existence whereby teamwork exists without competition, and is driven by a joint yearning for perfection.⁴⁰ It has been suggested that the Palestine symphony orchestra, to which all four musicians belong, serves as a “propaganda vehicle for the Zionist State”.⁴¹

The story's structure resembles chamber music in that it shows several different interpretations of an event or experience. Chamber music is a way of life for both Shaham and his protagonists. It is the correct compromise between the demands of the self, the ego, and the deep acknowledgement of the superior importance of teamwork. The telling of the story in five juxtaposed ‘chamber voices’ (*Kolot Kameriim*) accords with the chamber music motif. Shaham does not omit the unpleasant voices; an imposing and pervasive narrative as would be found in an orchestra does not drown them.

³⁶ Solomon Liptzin, *Germany's Stepchildren*, Meridian Books (1961), p.211.

³⁷ Solomon Liptzin, *op.cit.* (n. 36), p. 224.

³⁸ *The Kirkus Reviews*, *op.cit.* (n. 23).

³⁹ A.B. Yoffe, “Music, the Homeland of the Homeless” *Haaretz* (11th December 1987)

⁴⁰ Symphonic Music is more enchanting but is also more dangerous for it is full of myths, whereas chamber music is an opportunity to decipher a simple and humble experience. This difference resembles that between the diary novel employed by Shaham and the refined and traditional novel; see Yosef Oren, “The Homeland of the Homeless” *Yediot Ahronot* (28th August 1987).

⁴¹ *Indianapolis News* (21st September 1991).

Rather, nuances of expression are celebrated. All the voices together form a pseudo-musical variation on a theme.

As the protagonists try and rebuild their homeland in music, they subliminally try to live without history — neglecting to acknowledge the harsh events that so strongly effected their lives. Yet even music, which exists beyond time and space, cannot exist outside history, nor can musicians.⁴² In fact, it is said that the tensions that propel the story, those between art and life, lift the music of the quartet beyond the individual talents of the ensemble.⁴³ Shaham states in an interview that he was interested in those who came to Palestine but not of choice — those who in *The Rosendorf Quartet* believed they could live in Palestine in music alone and wait for the moment they could go elsewhere — namely Germany. Shaham adds that as musicians, his protagonists do not deal with composition but with performance. Problems of interpretation leave limited space for personal realization. This deems the characters problematic musicians. Kurt's construction of the Quartet is done with great care so that the musical ensemble becomes a unit of discovery rather than one that battles endlessly over interpretations. Yet the structure of the novel as five variations on the theme of exile shows that the endless battle over interpretation is inescapable.

Because of their utter detachment the musicians attempt to live within the music of great European composers which takes them beyond the passage of time and space to the world of sounds ruled by a familiar and essential order which disappeared from their lives. This order — the elevation of art and beauty beyond all other earthly concerns — is that which is so lacking in their reality. Thus they attempt to sever themselves from the motion of history. Yet even though they have no social obligation and do not identify with the struggles that surround them, they are inevitably affected by them; thus Litovsky joins an underground resistance movement, and Kurt eventually remains in Palestine. The repeated theme of homelessness is remedied by the protagonists' self-enclosure in the ivory tower of music, which becomes their homeland.⁴⁴

Shaham's underlying theme is that no one can live outside history. Not even the most morally conservative man can silence his desires. Art and music, and the desire that drives these onwards do not enable the protagonists to separate themselves from the outside world and its struggles. Kurt's failing relationship with his Aryan wife who remained in Germany with their talented daughter in order to pursue the latter's musical ambitions,

⁴² A. B. Yoffe, "The Musical Life," *op.cit.* (n. 14).

⁴³ Andrea Caron-Kempf, *Johnson City Community College Library Journal* (25th July 1991).

⁴⁴ Ora Segel, "Thematics and Form," *Haaretz* (2nd October 1987).

resembles the dissonance between Jews and Germans. Problems in the relationship had always existed, but the historical events that so suddenly shocked it, triggered a total chasm. It is a relationship that was not meant to be.⁴⁵ Thus the ideal harmony to which Kurt aspires, alongside Lowenthal and Shaham himself, loses its struggle against daily reality, human lusts and desires lurking in the midst. Chamber music allows passion to rule over order and thus it sustains the existence of the protagonists.

Writing about music expresses the heights that have been reached by Western European culture, alongside faint insinuations of the horrors this culture perpetrated. These tragic elements are also clear, given the functional similarities between Eva and Germany. She is said to be a sado-masochist,⁴⁶ causing pain to those she loves, and deriving pleasure from this. This may be interpreted as the German rejection of its Jews who were such avid supporters of its principles. In addition, the men's compelling attraction to Eva, coupled with their contempt for her methods, connotes German Jewry's feelings for its homeland.

The men's attraction to Eva symbolizes not only their attraction to beauty and to the unattainable, but also their identification with the poetic disappointments of the century⁴⁷ that gave us the distinguished achievements of German music. Eva symbolizes the deceptions of the period, which supplanted a belief in the souls of its people, the belief that in this century, which cherished beauty, it will not be possible for savageness to gain power.⁴⁸ Lowenthal himself likens the world of the 1930's to a female whose procreative organs were removed, and given Eva's infertility, the symbolism is evident. Each man, in his own way, is either in love, attracted to, or disgusted by Eva. She embodies the German Jewish relationship, in her brutality and passion, and the manner in which others yearn to be part of her despite her rejection of them.

The introspective quality of the novel is found in Lowenthal's function in the story. Lowenthal stands before the reader as a mirror that reflects in a supposedly objective manner, the other protagonists, and Shaham, the author. Lowenthal states that —

"I find more point in publishing the outline for a novel, which faithfully reflects the confusion of the creative process. After the total collapse of Western values, there is no point in publishing coherent novels with a solid architectural structure, which is, if anything is, an expression of the belief in these

⁴⁵ Leah Fuchs, *op.cit.* (n. 6).

⁴⁶ Carol Malkin, *op.cit.* (n. 7).

⁴⁷ Yosef Oren, "The Homeland of the Homeless," *Yediot Ahronot* (28th August 1987).

⁴⁸ Yosef Oren, *op.cit.* (n. 47).

very values. The educated reader of our times will not be angry with me if I offer him broken fragments. He takes more pleasure in sticking the pot shreds together than in the beauty of the whole jar.”⁴⁹

According to this postmodern excerpt it is clear that Lowenthal and Shaham are ideologically one and the same.⁵⁰ The terming of the novel as a ‘rough draft’ in its final chapter comes to awaken the reader from the illusion of reading. In addition, this excerpt highlights that through Lowenthal’s deliberations we learn of Shaham’s own. Shaham comments on the interchangeability of himself and his characters in an interview, stating that he identifies with all of his characters, yet none at the same time.⁵¹ He identifies with Eva for her victimization in the face of history, yet he does not identify with her attitude to humanity or Zionism. He is not the ‘author’ because Shaham has not been a literary or lingual exile; yet the author’s sorrow is a source of identification for him more than that of the musicians. Shaham has experienced much of Kurt’s musical dilemmas.

Through the depiction of the quartet and of the German-Jewish identity in exile, Shaham captures the tensions that have existed in the Jewish community for centuries prior to the time of his novel. The question of assimilation — found in the characters’ adherence to German culture and in that expected of them in Israel — is shown for its complexity and resilience against the simple slogans of the Zionist movement. The novel provides a complex portrait of the state of Zionism today, with all its failures and accomplishments. The unique nature of German Jewry — whose past is being destroyed by Nazi Germany even as they struggle to gain a foothold in their unfamiliar present, is reflected in the structure, the theme and the subtlety of Shaham’s novel.

⁴⁹ Natan Shaham, *op.cit.* (n. 26), pp. 355-356.

⁵⁰ Tzvi Goren, “An Author in the Room of Mirrors; a suggestion of revised reading of the Rosendorf Quartet by Natan Shaham,” *Al Hamishmar* (18th November 1988).

⁵¹ Ora Armoni, “Musical Moment,” *Kibbutz* (12th August 1987).

TWO LITURGICAL QUOTATIONS FROM COPTIC HAGIOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

BY

YOUHANNA NESSIM YOUSSEF

The Coptic Hagiological texts are a mine of information for the study of the development of the Coptic liturgy.¹

The legend of saint Hilaria² mentioned the lectionary of the feast of saint Mark.³

“ΝΤΕΡΕ ΖΤΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΑΣΝΑΥ ΕΠΜΗΝΨΕ ΕΥΦΩΡΕΙ
ΝΖΕΝΖΕΒCΩ ΕΥΟΓΟΒΨ ΕΥΠΗΤ ΕΤΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ ΕΝΕ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΠΕ
ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΜΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙCΤΗC... ΝΤΕΡΕCΒΩΚ ΔΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ
ΕΠΜΑΡΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΑCΩΤΜ ΖΜ ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΧΕ ΝΤΕΜΕ ΜΠΝΟ-
ΥΤΕ ΨΑΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ †ΤΟΟΥΤΟΥ ΖΕΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΠΑΓΑΘΟΝ
ΝΝΕΤΑΖΜ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΦΟΥΨ ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΨΡΠCΟΥΩΝΟΥ ΖΕΝ
ΝΕΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΜΠΕΡΜΕΡΙ ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΟΥΔΕ ΝΕΤΖΜ
ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΖΕΝ ΝΕΠΡΑΞΙC ΔΕ ΟΝ ΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΝΤΕ ΜΧΟΕΙC
ΑΦΟΥΟΝΖΦ ΕΠΕΤΡΟC ΜΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΜΟΡΚ ΜΑ ΠΕΚCΑΝΤΑ-
ΛΙΟΝ ΕΡΑΤΚ ΝΓ† ΝΤΕΚΨΤΗΝ ΕΖΙΩΩ†Κ ΑΥΩ ΝΓΟΥΑΖΚ ΝCΩΙ
ΖΜ ΠΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΪΑ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΦΝΑCΜΝ ΝΟΜΟC ΝΒΦ ΖΕΝ ΤΕΖΙΗ
ΝΤΑΦΑΨC ΖΜ ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΧΕ ΕΙC ΖΗΗΤΕ †ΝΑΧΟΟΥ
ΜΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΖΑ ΤΕΚΖΗ ΝΦCΟΟΥΤΝ ΝΤΕΚΖΙΗ ΜΠΕΚΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ”

“Next morning she saw the multitude, wearing white garments,⁴ making their way to the patronal church; for it was the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist. When she had entered the shrine, she heard from the Apostle “God is wont to help in everything for good those who love him; those who are invited according to His will, those whom He hath foreknown.” And again from the Catholic Epistles “Do not love the world or what is in the world.”

¹ Cf. O.H.E. Burmester, “The Liturgy ‘Coram Patriarcha Aut Episcopo’ in the Coptic Church” *Le Muséon*, 49 (1936), pp. 79-84. U.Zanetti, “Notes sur la vie de Saint Samuel de Kalamoun. Versions arabe et éthiopienne. Deux citations de la “prière de la fraction” *AB*, 115 (1997), pp. 147-148.

² For the examination of this legend cf. H. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of Wadi n’Natrum*, Part II, New York 1932, pp. 224-227. J. Drescher, *Three Coptic Legends, Supp. ASAE* 4, Le Caire 1947, pp. 121-131.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 3.30-4.13 (text) 72-73 (translation). This Saint was considered as spiritual daughter of Saint Macarius cf. Evelyn White, *Monasteries of Wadi n’Natrum*, Part I, New York 1936, pp. 122, 136. Her relics was kept in the Monastery of Saint Macarius in the Eleventh century, cf Evelyn White, *op.cit.*, Part II, p 364.

⁴ This custom is still observed in Ethiopia.

And again from the Acts, "An angel of the Lord appeared to Peter and said to him, 'Gird thyself. Put on thy sandals and don thy garment and follow me.'" And again from the Alleluia "He will appoint a law for him in the way that He hath desired." And from the Gospel, "Behold, I shall send My angel before thy face to make straight thy way before thee."

The author of this text is a witness of the readings of the feast of Saint Mark in the VII century being a monophysite cleric.⁵

	VII century readings (Hilaria)	Lectionary of Pierpont Morgan ⁶	Actual readings
Epistle of St. Paul	Romans 8.28-29.	2 Timothy 4.5-12.	2 Thes. 3.10-4.18.
Catholicon	I John 2.15. ⁷	I Peter 5.5-12.	I Peter 5.1-14.
Acts	Acts 12.7-8.	Acts 15.35-40.	Acts 15.26-16.5.
Psalm	Psalm 24.12.	Psalm 131.9-10	Psalm 96.1-2.
Gospel	Mark 1.2,	Mark 1.1-8	Mark 1.1-11.

Our text could also be thus compared with the Greek and Sahidic Coptic Lectionary in the Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library.⁸

First, it is noteworthy that the system of reading is the same in all witnesses.⁹ The readings are based on the commemoration of the feast of Saint Mark (as in the Gospel) as the actual system. As our text is written in Sahidic Dialect, most probably it reflects an Upper Egyptian tradition.¹⁰ This comparison will contribute to the study of the development of the Coptic lectionary.

⁵ J. Drescher, *op.cit.* (n. 2), p. 130.

⁶ L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library, Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts* 4, Leuven 1993, p. 78.

⁷ This is the actual end of the Catholicon. cf. Abd al-Masih Salib, *ΠΙΧΩΜ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΕΥΧΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ ΕΘΟΥΛΒ*, Cairo 1902, pp. 247-248.

⁸ L. Depuydt, *op.cit.* (n. 6), pp. 95-96.

⁹ For the annual lectionary's system cf. U. Zanetti, *Les lectionnaires Coptes Annuels — Basse Egypte*; *PIOL* 33, Louvain 1985, pp. 1-50.

¹⁰ For a detailed study cf. U. Zanetti, "Abû-l-Barakat et les lectionnaires de Haute-Egypte" *Actes du IV^e Congrès Copte*, édités par M. Rassart-Debergh et J. Ries, *PIOL* 41, Louvain 1992, pp. 450-462. For other examples of lectionnaires' Manuscripts from Upper Egypt, cf. W.E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1905, N° 144 p. 30, N° 145 p. 31, N° 146; p. 33, N° 147, p. 34; N° 148, p. 35 L. Depuydt, *op.cit.*, p. 69-101 NN° 51-55.

The same system occurs in this legend referring to the readings of another day when St. Hilaria entered to the church in Constantinople thus Hebrews 11, 24.26. James 1.10, Acts 20.33-34, Luke 14.26-27. cf. J. Drescher, *op.cit.* (n. 2), pp. 2-3 (text) p. 71 (translation). This Gospel is actually said during the feast of St Simeon Stylites (3rd of Mesôré) but the other readings did not concord this text. It shows probably once more another example of the Upper Egyptian tradition of the lectionary. cf. Banoub Abdou, *كنوز النعمة لمعونة خدام الكلمة*, Cairo 1952, Vol I, p. 87.

The Encomium of the Pseudo-Flavianus of Ephesus¹¹ in honour of patriarch Demetrius of Alexandria gave to us a description of a liturgical ceremony. We give here the text in full, in Coptic and in English:-

“ῥτοοϥε δε ντερεϥωπε νε περσοϥ πε ντπεντηκοστη
ετοϥααβ α παρχνεπισκοπος ειρε νοϥκαθολικη σϥναζις
μπερσοϥ ετμμϥ εαρεζηγεσθαι επλαος ρν τῳταπρο
ετοϥααβ ειτα μνῃσα πχι εβολ ρν μμϥστηριον ετοϥααβ
νῳχκ εβολ ντῳλϥτοϥργια α παρχνεπισκοπος κελεϥε
μπαρχηαιακωνος ετμα λααϥ εβωκ ρμ πλαος αλλα ετρεϥ-
σωϥρ επσϥνρεδριον... απαρχνεπισκοπος οϥερσαρνε
ετρεϥσωϥρ ερϥν νοϥμνηϥε νῳι ατρεϥεινε νοϥ-
κωρτ αϥερωϥ πλαος δε αϥῳπηρε πε περζωβ ειτα
πεχε παπας ϥε τωϥν ντῳληλ ντεροϥληλ δε αϥρ-
μοος ...παρχνεπισκοπος δε μεχαρ μπμερσπ σναϥ ϥε
μαρενϥληλ αϥω πχββς νκωρτ νεϥρμ πεσῳων μπεϥ-
ρωκρ ...”

“And when the morning had come, now it was the Day of the holy Pentecost, the Archbishop made ready to celebrate the Catholic Mass of this day, having explained to the people by his holy words. After the communion of the Holy Mysteries, having completed the Liturgy, the Archbishop commanded the Archdeacon not to allow any member of the congregation to leave (the Church) but to gather them in the council chamber... the Archbishop commanded (them) to gather a large quantity of wood. The people marvelled what this meant. Then the Pope said ‘Rise up, let us pray,’ ...And the Archbishop said a second time, ‘Let us pray’ and the coals of fire were in his garment, and he was not burnt.”¹²

This encomium had been used as a reference for the biography of Demetrius and Peter in the “History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church”¹³ Mawhub ibn Mansur, author of this biography, having perhaps used another manuscript from the monastery of Nahya,¹⁴ while translating from the Coptic text had rendered “garments” to describe the liturgical vestments, using the words **παλλιν** (*pallium*) instead of **ερωων** (cloak), expressing by this translation a liturgical service.¹⁵

¹¹ Cf T. Orlandi, “Flavian of Ephesus” *Coptic Encyclopedia*, New York 1991, Part 4, p. 1117.

¹² W. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London 1914, pp. 143-144 (text) and pp. 396-397 (translation).

¹³ T. Orlandi, *Studi Copti — Le Fonti Copte della storia dei Patriarchi di Alessandria —, Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità XXII*, Milan 1968, p. 76.

¹⁴ J. Den Heijer, *Mawhub ibn Mansur ibn Mufarrig et l'historiographie Copto-Arabe*, CSCO 513 Subs 83, Louvain 1989, p. 99. For the Monastery of Nahya cf. M. Jones, “El Deir El Nahya” *BSAC*, 34 (1995), pp. 33-51.

¹⁵ J. Den Heijer, *op.cit.* (n. 14), pp. 181-182. For the liturgical dress cf K.C. Innemée, *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Mediaval Near East*, Leiden 1992, pp. 22-25 and the book review of R. G. Coquin *BSAC*, 33 (1994), pp. 163-166.

This Homily has also been used directly or indirectly (through the History of the Patriarchs) as reference for the Commemoration of this saint in the Synaxarium¹⁶ of (12 Paopi). The Ethiopian Synaxarium mentioned the details of the story.¹⁷ The Coptic synaxarium of Upper¹⁸ and Lower-Egypt¹⁹ did not give any detail. The word used to express the garment of the Patriarch is "Ballin" showing thus a liturgical dress.²⁰

Ibn ar-Rahib (XIII century) mentioned in his history²² that this day was the **Maundy Thursday**. This confusion is due perhaps to a graphic deformation from arabic between الحديس and الحميس.

The text may make reference to the prayer of **Genuflection** "Sagda".²³

The prayer of Genuflection on Whitsunday took place at the ninth hour. At the end of the Theotokia of Sunday the people fill vessels with fire and place them in the midst of the Church. The first and the second genuflection are performed in the second choir.²⁴ The earliest manuscript seems to be preserved in the Vatican Library,²⁵ and is from 1316 A.D.²⁶ Thus we have a vivid tradition of this ceremony, attested by the Encomium from a

¹⁶ For this liturgical book cf G. Colin, "Le synaxaire éthiopien, Etat actuel de la question" *AB*, 106 (1988), pp. 273-317.

¹⁷ G. Colin, *Le synaxaire Ethiopien du Mois de Tqemt*, PO 44 Turnhout 1987, pp. 64-67.

¹⁸ R. G. Coquin, "Le synaxaire des Coptes, Un nouveau témoin de la recension de Haute Egypte" *AB*, 96 (1978), pp. 351-365. R. Basset, *Le Synaxaire Arabe Jacobité*, PO I, Paris 1904, pp. 332-335.

¹⁹ Cf I. Forget, *Synaxarium Alexandrinum*, CSCO 47, Louvain 1963, pp. 59-61. O.E. Meinardus; *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, Cairo 1977, p. 81.

²⁰ It is noteworthy that the Difnar stresses on the Virginity of this patriarch without giving details cf. De Lacy O'leary, *The Difnar*, London 1926, Vol I, p. 35.

²¹ Cf G. Graf, *Geschichte der christliche-arabischen Literatur, Studi e testi*, Città del Vaticano 1947, pp. 428-424. A. Sidarus, "Ibn ar-Rahib" *El, suppl.*, Leiden 1982, pp. 396-397 summarising his thesis *Ibn ar-Rahib's Leben und Werk*, IU, 36 1975.

²² L. Cheicho, *Petrus Ibn Rahib, Chonicon Orientale*, CSCO 45, Louvain 1962, p. 106.

²³ O.H.E. Burmester "The Office of Genuflection on Whitsunday" *Le Muséon*, 47 (1934), pp. 205-257. Jühannâ Ibn Abî Zakaria Ibn Sbâ', *Pretiosa Margarita de Scientiis Ecclesiasticis, Studia Orientalia Christiana Aegyptiaca*, ed V. Mistrih, Cairo 1966, pp. 358-360 (Text) — 582 (translation). L. Villecourt, "Les observances liturgiques de l'Eglise Copte" *Le Muséon*, 38 (1925), p. 318 n. 1.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 221. Attallah Arsénios al-Moharraqi, ΠΙΧΩΜ ΝΤΕ ΤΛΑΚΑΝΗ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΧΙ-ΝΟΥΩΨΤ ΦΗΕΤΕΡΑΜΑΖΙ ΕΧΕΝ ΤΛΑΚΑΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΤΕ ΠΙΩΔΙ ΜΠΙΧΙΝΩΜΣ ΝΕΜ ΠΙ Ε ΝΕΜ ΝΕΝΙΟΤ ΝΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΝΕΜ ΤΠΑΝΤΗΚΟΣΤΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΤΑΞΙΣ ΝΝΕ-ΝΙΟΤ ΝΤΕ ΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΝΡΕΜΝΧΗΜΙ ΝΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΣ, Cairo 1971, p. 218.

²⁵ Cf. O.H.E. Burmester, *op.cit.* (n. 1), p. 208, U. Zanetti, "Bohairic Liturgical Manuscripts" *OCP*, 61 (1995), p. 82.

²⁶ In addition of the MSS mentioned in the Burmester's article some fragments could be also added from XVth century cf O.H.E. Burmester, *Koptische Handschriften I, VOHD XXI*, Wiesbaden 1975, P. 165, Rituale 9; p. 169 Rituale 11; p. 178 Rituale 16. L. Störk, *Koptische Handschriften 2, VOHD XXI*, 2, Stuttgart, 1995, p. 327, Rituale 159.

Manuscript of X century,²⁷ the History of the Patriarchs from a Manuscript from the XIII century,²⁸ and the Ethiopian Synaxarium.

These quotations show, once more, the importance of the Coptic Hagiographical texts for the comprehension of the History of the Coptic Liturgy.

²⁷ W. Budge, *op.cit.*, n. 12 p. XIX-XXI, Orlandi and Den Heijer think that the original text was written in Greek cf Den Heijer, *op.cit.* (n. 14), p. 6 n. 30. The actual Greek Rite of the Genuflection is completely different cf O.H.E. Burmester; *op.cit.* (n. 1), pp. 205-206.

²⁸ Den Heijer, *op.cit.* (n. 14), p. 19 but written in the XI century cf. *ibid.* p. 88, and using a Manuscript written before this date.

REVIEWS

F. Briquel-Chatonnet, *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d'Israël et de Juda* Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 46, Studia Phoenicia XII (Department Orientalistik & Uitgeverij Peeters: Louvain, 1992). Pp. xviii + 448. ISBN: 90-6831-379-7. Price: BEF 3900.

The present study is the revised version of a Ph. D. thesis submitted to the "Université Paris I" in 1988. It aims to survey the relations of the Phoenician cities with Israel from the tenth to the sixth century B.C. All the available evidence, archaeological as well as textual, is considered in this review process. The first part, which takes more than half of the book, is devoted to the political and diplomatic relations (pp. 23-226). The second part considers the commercial relations (pp. 227-287). The third consists of a study of religious influences (pp. 289-331). The fourth and last part envisages the technological and artistic influences (pp. 333-379).

Although many of the issues raised in the book have been repeatedly discussed since the beginnings of Biblical criticism the author considers that it is still useful to have another look at them to separate firmly based opinions from mere conjectures (p. 6).

The most substantial part of the book is the first one, which deals with the political and diplomatic relations. The author surveys all the Biblical and extra-Biblical texts in the chronological order of the problems they relate to. She carefully criticizes modern opinions and presents her own views on every issue. She deserves praise for her meticulous treatment of the evidence. Her study, however, would have been more convincing if she had integrated these somewhat unrelated observations into a more comprehensive account of the Phoenician relations with Israel, taking into account the geopolitics of the time. A combined survey of Assyrian and Biblical evidence would have shown, for instance, that the cities of northern Phoenicia did not have the same foreign policy as the cities of the south. Byblos and Arwad were linked with Hamath. Tyre and Sidon tended to turn towards Israel and Damascus further east. This is explained by their geographical position. The easiest access to inland Syria from Byblos and Arwad was through the powerful Aramaean kingdom of Hamath. For the same reasons Tyre and Sidon had to come into agreement with Israel. A more global approach would have placed the problems under discussion into a more meaningful perspective. In the same way, a comparison between the respective attitudes of the Phoenician cities and of Israel towards the Assyrian invasion would have shed an interesting light on the relations between the two regions. The author, on the contrary, puts most of her effort into establishing "facts" instead of interpreting them from a global point of view.

In general she tends to stay too close to the literal meaning of the texts. What is the point of discussing the enigmas exchanged by Hiram and Solomon according

to Josephus (pp. 55-58)? Such a tradition is irrelevant to historical interpretation. It has to be studied as a literary genre and as part of the history of literature. Even when she tries to identify the purpose of the writing of a text, she seems to be very reluctant to accept all the implications of her argument. For instance, she refutes, with good reason, the reality of contacts between David and Hiram, and considers that the situation existing at the time of Solomon was pushed back to the time of his father (pp. 28-31). While this is quite possible, why does she go on to say that contacts nonetheless existed between Tyre, but not Hiram, and David (pp. 31-32)? She destroys the evidence but keeps its content.

As an illustration of her historical method, I would like to address the criticisms she makes of an interpretation I proposed of the relations between Hiram of Tyre and king Solomon, more than twenty years ago, in an article entitled "Commerce et diplomatie phéniciens au temps de Hiram Ier de Tyr" (*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 19 [1976], pp. 1-31). The article's purpose was to put the Biblical account of these relations against their Near Eastern background, without consideration for the historical reality of any specific event. The main thrust of the argument was that the Biblical description of the Solomon-Hiram relations, including its terminology, found close parallels in second millennium diplomatic practice, especially the Amarna tablets, and that international economic relations, according to the same sources, were not dependent on detailed international agreements or treaties. F. Briquel-Chatonnet objects to this theory that two levels must be recognized in international trade. The first level is that of ceremonial, or prestige, exchange. In this case there is no formal agreement on the goods that are exchanged. But there is another, lower level that concerns goods of practical use. This kind of exchange results from negotiations about the nature, quantity and price of the exchanged commodities. The relations between Hiram and Solomon, according to her, belonged to this second type and they must therefore have been subject to an agreement between the two kings (pp. 44-47, 266-267). There is no question that there was a distinction between prestige and common goods. This has been well demonstrated by Liverani, Zaccagnini and others. It must be emphasized, however, that the negotiations concerning the lower level of international trade do not lead to the conclusion of a formal treaty. Further, it must also be observed that the Biblical texts do not have even a word about these assumed negotiations. I never questioned, despite what is said on pp. 46-47, that there may have been negotiations between Hiram and Solomon. The fact is that the Bible does not mention them and that the entire story is told as if the two kings were just trying to please each other, which is exactly how ceremonial gifts were exchanged according to, among others, the Amarna tablets. The Biblical account of the Solomon-Hiram relations is clearly inspired by these earlier practices, whatever the nature of the goods that were exchanged.

Briquel-Chatonnet also criticizes, pp. 47-48, my comments on the text dealing with the cession of the twenty cities of the land of Cabul to Hiram by Solomon (1Kings 9:10-14). The disappointment manifested by Hiram when he saw the cities was, I think, a clear indication that the king did not know what they were and,

consequently, that the Biblical author did not envisage that an agreement had been reached on their exchange. Briquel-Chatonnet does not formally object to this, but says that, as far as we know, cessions of territories were not part of international agreements in the ancient Near East and that, regardless, the text must be understood as a cession of Israelite territory to Tyre, even though the text says that nothing happened (pp. 48-51). To achieve her goal, she must hypothesize that there had been an agreement between the kings, about which the Bible has little to say, but that a later redactor could not accept that a portion of the national territory was given up. He thus forged the story as we read it now. This is another case where Briquel-Chatonnet destroys the evidence but does not go as far as to abandon all the interpretations based on the evidence.

In fact, all these texts should not be used to prove the veracity of ancient events, because there is no external evidence to corroborate or invalidate them, but they can be used to shed light on the intellectual environment of their authors.

The second, third and fourth parts of the book, devoted to the cultural interaction between Tyre and Israel, are probably also the most interesting. They bring together material that is not very often grouped under the same heading. In these chapters, the reader will find information on trade, religion, architecture, pottery and ivories, with a discussion of their contribution to the study of the interrelationship between Phoenicia, Israel and Judah.

In conclusion, the present reviewer must confess that his reading of the book generated mixed feeling. In most cases there is not yet adequate evidence to make a balanced judgement on the relations between Phoenicia and Israel. But will there ever be any?

Guy Bunnens

Claude Doumet Serhal, *Terres cuites orientales: La collection Klat*. (Archetype Publications: London, 1995). Pp. XII + 155. ISBN 1873132 11 5. Price: £62.50, US \$100.

The publication of a private collection is always welcome. Not only does it broaden our knowledge but it also sheds light on some pending problems. This is no doubt the case for the Klat collection. The human figurines of the collection belong to a type already known from the excavations conducted in the Tabqa dam area on the Euphrates, but, whilst the regular excavations yielded only a few complete figurines, this collection offers thirty-six complete examples.

The ninety-eight clay objects studied in this volume belong to the collection that Michel Klat, a Lebanese industrial, acquired from 1978 till 1993.

The collection can be divided into models and figurines. The models include twenty-nine wheeled vehicles, two architectural models and one model of a table, while the sixty-six figurines are both human and animal. In total a very interesting collection of complete pieces that are dated to the third and second millennia B.C.

After a short and general introduction briefly discussing the possible functions of both the clay models and the figurines, each category of documents is studied according to the same standard plan: introduction, catalogue with drawings, technical details, description, comparisons and finally photographs of every object. A last chapter written in English by D.R. Griffiths and A.I.M. Seruya deals with a more technical aspect of some of the objects: the compositional analysis of their painted decoration. The volume ends with a good and up to date bibliography, although it is surprising not to find a mention of the collective volume *"Lorsque la royauté descendit du ciel....". Les fouilles belges du Tell Kannâs sur l'Euphrate en Syrie*, edited by A. Finet, Mariemont 1983.

In this well presented and abundantly illustrated volume, it is particularly appreciated that the back and side views of all the objects are illustrated, both by photographs and drawings.

The importance of this new material justifies a close and careful examination. The observations that follow testify to the reviewer's interest.

1. Models

The wheeled vehicles are divided into five categories. The war or parade chariots with four or two wheels, the four-wheel wagons, an example of what is interpreted as a bed on wheels, zoomorphic four-wheel chariots and one anthropomorphic four-wheel chariot.

Classification is always partly subjective, given that objects can be organized according to different criteria. If one can agree on the first two categories, it seems difficult to consider the wheeled animals (no. 25, no. 26, no. 27) and the wheeled vase (no. 28) as chariots.

As for the "wheeled bed", I would rather consider it as a chariot and include it in the first category of "war or parade" chariots, especially because the shape of the front of the chariot is very reminiscent of example no. 8.

The anthropomorphic chariot is described on p. 6 and p. 33 as a human head applied on top of the front part and should accordingly be understood as a decoration of the front. However, it is compared, p. 6, to chariots carrying a modelled seated figurine that looks completely different from the object of the Klat collection. The lack of care in the modelling of this particular object is remarkable and could perhaps be a clue for its function. Being rapidly and roughly made, this chariot could possibly have been intended as a toy.

There seems to be some confusion between the terms "stamped" and "incised". On p. 5, the "wheeled bed" is described as having a "décor estampé" whereas on p. 29 it is correctly defined as "incisé". On p. 51 the decoration is again considered as stamped instead of incised.

It is regrettable that some of the author's comments lack precision. For instance, when describing the decoration of the front part of the type A chariots, p. 3, she omits to mention the incised decoration of no. 11 and does not mention that some examples do not bear any decoration at all. As three of the chariots are still bearing traces of painting, she concludes, p. 6, that originally all chariots must have been painted.

Two architectural models of totally different types are part of the collection. One can but regret that the author departs from her usual plan that distinguishes between introduction and catalogue. It would have given her the opportunity to evoke the rather complex problem of the function and interpretation of those models.

"Maquette no. 1" is carefully described, but the large square opening on the front side, rightly identified as a possible door on p. 45 becomes unfortunately a window on p. 46.

With the last model, a circular table, we are back to the usual presentation. This is a very interesting piece, especially because such objects are rarely found in excavations.

2. Figurines

The figurines constitute the bulk of the collection. They are divided into human and animal figurines.

The anthropomorphic figurines, it is said on p. 53, all belong, except for one example (no. 33), to the same stylistic horizon. They have the characteristic features of the late third and early second millennium terracottas that were discovered in the Euphrates valley (and not, as stated on p. 53, the region north of the Euphrates valley). In fact, there are two exceptions to the Euphrates group, figurine no. 33 and the horse rider no. 36. Both are related to the Orontes valley group, as indicated by comparisons on p. 56 and p. 79. Therefore the author should not have included them in the description of the main features of the Euphrates group on p. 53.

As for the typology, it would have been preferable to separate the Euphrates and Orontes groups, because they are totally different in style, and the Orontes group seems also to be chronologically later, belonging to the second millennium.

Following the typology of H. Liebowitz, the Euphrates group has been divided into type A, figurines with arms on the chest, and type B, figurines with stump-arms. Type A has been divided into three sub-types, according to a slight difference in the position of the arms, a distinction that does not seem really pertinent to me. I think that the gesture is the same and that those little differences are only due to the rather rough technique of modelling. On the contrary, type B has not been subdivided into pierced and plain stump-arms, a distinction that could be important in regard of the identification of the figurines. Finally the typology does not take into account the very interesting figure no. 27, assigned to type B, that shows both a pierced stump right arm and an applied left one holding an object against the shoulder.

Two other types are defined. If one can agree on type D that includes the horse-riders, although the Orontes example should have been distinguished from the Euphrates figurines, type C seems rather odd. It includes a type A figurine from the Euphrates group wearing a crown and holding two children in its left arm, and a figurine from the Orontes group holding a jug on its left shoulder.

In the catalogue, the figurines are systematically described from top to bottom. However, the descriptions themselves are not always entirely accurate. For instance, the pendent represented on many of the figurines becomes unfortunately "un bout disposé verticalement" p. 64 no.12 and p. 65 no.13. If the necklaces are sometimes

correctly described as applied “par-devant”, they are frequently said to be “autour du cou” (p. 59 no. 2, p. 64 no. 12, p. 65 no. 14, p. 67 no. 17b, p. 75 no. 30 and no. 31, p. 76 no. 32) which is incorrect, or simply “appliqué” without more precisions (p. 62 no. 8, p. 67 no. 17a, p. 68 no. 18).

Figurine no. 21 is said to have only holes for the eyes on p. 53 and p. 69, which would make it the only example of its kind in the collection. In fact it seems to me, judging from the photographs, that it is not different from the others, but that the applied pellets which usually represent the eyes have disappeared, as often occurs on figurines of this type.

Figurine no. 32 is said, p. 76, to hold “un rouleau sous l’aisselle” and is compared to a similar figurine found at Tell Hadidi. In my opinion this is a rather strange interpretation of what is probably the very clumsy indication of the breast. Compare for instance the representation of the breast on figurines from Tell Al’Abd.¹ and Selenkahiye.²

Figurine no. 36 is described as “le corps du cavalier se confond avec le corps de l’animal” which is wrong, the rider is clearly modelled independently of the horse.

As noticed by the author, most of those figurines are very similar to the figurines discovered in the Euphrates valley. It is therefore surprising not to find more comparisons in the catalogue. For instance no. 1 is similar to Type IA from Selenkahiye³ and the figurines wearing a crown (no. 22-28) are very close to those from Hadidi.⁴

The gender of the figurines is not an easy question to resolve. However, with the new material offered by the Klat collection, one would have expected more discussion, especially of the figurines wearing a crown that Dornemann identifies as kings.⁵

The animal figurines are represented by bulls, equids, caprids, a dog or possibly a jackal, as proposed by the author, hedgehogs and birds. Interesting, because they are far less common, are the birds. Figures no. 26 and no. 28 seem to me very close to an example from Tell Fray dated to the Late Bronze Age (13th century).⁶

The last chapter, a result of the collaboration of D.R. Griffith and A.I.M. Seraya, introduces the reader into the highly sophisticated methods used to trace the composition of the painted decoration preserved on some of the model vehicles and on one animal figurine. It reveals the difficulties of isolating the paint from its support, but also indicates that paints of the same colour have distinctive compositions which implies the use of different sources of raw material.

¹ K. Toueir, *The Syrian Archaeological Expedition to Tell Al’Abd Zrejehey: Clay Figurines of the Third Millennium B.C.*, SMS, 2, 1978, pl. II, 208.

² O. Rouault and M.G. Masetti-Rouault (eds), *L’Eufrate e il tempo*, Milan 1993, no. 279, p. 325.

³ H. Leibowitz, *Terra -cotta Figurines and Model Vehicles*, Malibu 1988, pl. 3.1.

⁴ R. H. Dornemann, “Comments on small finds and items of artistic significance from Tell Hadidi and nearby sites in the Euphrates valley, Syria”, in A. Leinard, Jr (ed.), *Essays in the Ancient Civilization Presented to Helene J. Kantor*, Chicago 1989, pl. 10a.

⁵ R. H. Dornemann, *loc.cit.*, p. 62.

⁶ O. Rouault and M.G. Masetti-Rouault (eds), *op.cit.* (n.2), no. 358, p. 356 and p. 465.

The typographical errors are unfortunately numerous. Here follow a few examples.

- P. 8 n. 23: the reference to Piggott should be 1968 b instead of 1968.
- P. 10 n. 73 refers to M.-Th. Barrelet, 1969 instead of 1968.
- P. 18: the dimensions for the body of chariot no. 8 have been inverted between length and width.
- P. 58 n. 3: the reference does not correspond to the text; it should be p. 19 and not 126.
- P. 58 n. 14: the reference to H. Liebowitz should be pl. 8.3 instead of pl. 9.2.
- P. 59: the reference to E. Strommenger does not mention the year.
- P. 99: the equid with a mane indicated by an applied strip is no. 15 and not 13.

In conclusion, this is a book essential for the specialist, but also attractive to everyone interested in Near Eastern terracotta figurines. Moreover, all profits from the sale will be used for the rehabilitation of the National Museum of Beirut. A welcome initiative for which we should congratulate and thank the author.

Arlette ROOBAERT